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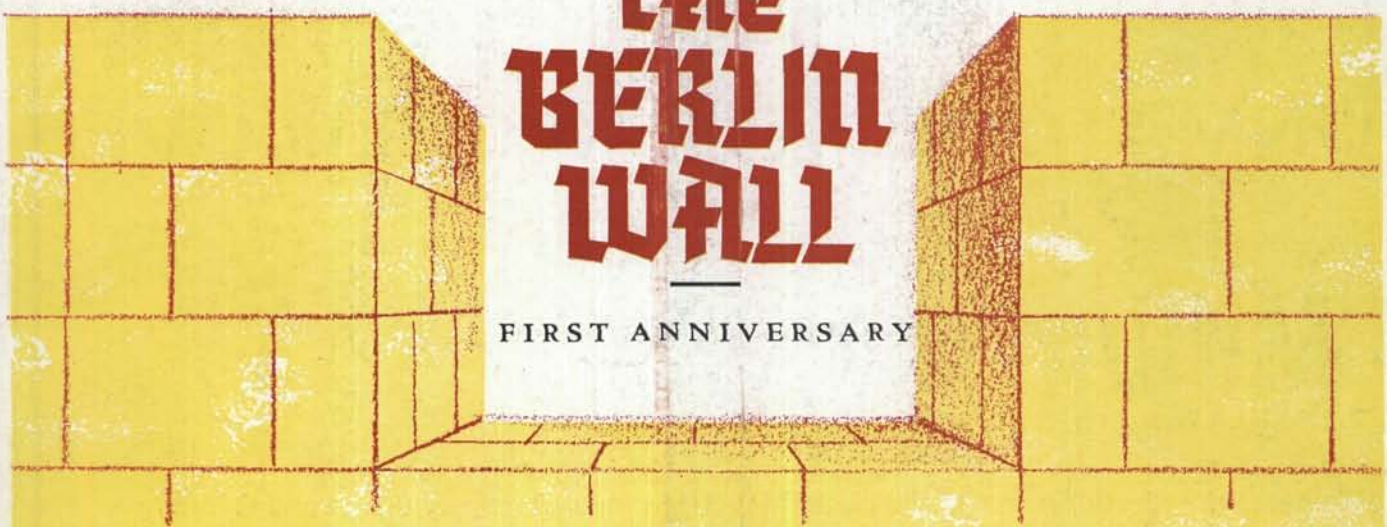

Tragedy in the Congo: The Untold Story

THOMAS J. DODD

Articles and Reviews by . . . . . NORBERT MUHLEN
WILLMOORE KENDALL · WILL HERBERG · VICTOR GOLD
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NATIONAL REVIEW is published monthly by National Review, Inc. at 163 Pratt St., Meriden, Conn. (second class postage paid at Meriden, Conn.). Copyright 1962 in the U.S.A., by National Review, Inc. All manuscripts, letters, subscription orders, changes of address and undelivered copies should be sent to:

EDITORIAL AND CIRCULATION OFFICES
National Review
150 East 35th St., New York 16, N.Y.
Telephone ORegon 9-7330

RATES: $15.00 a year ($8.00 for the 36-page issues, and $7.00 for the 8-page issues published on the alternate fortnights). The 8-page issues are available separately at $10.00 a year. In all cases, add $1.00 for Canada, $2.00 for other foreign subscriptions.

The editors cannot be responsible for unsolicited manuscripts unless return postage, or better, a stamped self-addressed envelope is enclosed. Opinions expressed in signed articles do not necessarily represent the views of the editors.

In This Issue . . .

➔ we feature an extended narrative by Senator **Thomas Dodd** of recent events in the Congo. It is a devastating story, rich in the detail of diplomatic decrepitude. . . . It hardly seems possible that we should so have aborted our opportunities in Africa, but the evidence is overwhelmingly there. Senator Dodd's recent book, by the way, is briefly reviewed (on p. 155) by **M. Stanton Evans,** who hails the Senator as the most active implacable anti-Communist in Congress. . . . **Norbert Muhlen,** a close student of Germany, his fatherland, and an industrious and important writer, takes up, on the anniversary of its erection, The Wall. So long as it is there, he warns, it will shore up the brutal regime of Communist East Germany, checking the pressures of freedom and decency that pound in from the West. But integration is not on our government's agenda over there. Integration is not for Germany, but for Albany, Ga.

➔ **James Burnham** writes about—flying to the moon. He hasn't yet done it himself, to be sure, but he feels, in his own stomach, the categorical national imperative to get there. . . . **Will Herberg,** whose good health is restored, we are delighted to report, speaks about the prayer decision of the Supreme Court, and remarks on the irony of the heavy opposition to it in an essentially secular nation. . . . **Russell Kirk** discusses education at Michigan State University, where President Hannah's mesocephalics can get a doctorate degree for a thesis on "An Evaluation of Thirteen Brands of Football Helmets on the Basis of Certain Impact Measures". . . . And **Victor Gold,** who works for the government but we'll never tell where, writes about the kind of reception Tom Paine would have had from the New Frontier's public relations men.

➔ Professor **Hugh Kenner,** about time, lets William Empson have it, reducing the towering critic's recent nose-thumb at God to the *divertimento* of an overrated, erratically informed, highly entertaining old crank. . . . **Willmoore Kendall,** who sent us his review from Rome, announces the publication next winter by Henry Regnery of a new book, title uncertain. Meanwhile, he disposes of the work on conservatism of Professor Clinton Rossiter —kindly, but firmly. He couldn't do it to a nicer, more mixed-up man. . . . **Curtis Carroll Davis** is in the reserve intelligence service, and at work on a history of American Intelligence from the Revolutionary days to the end of World War I. . . . Professor **Guy Davenport** writes with tender appreciation about the Magic Realism of James Baldwin, Philip Roth, and Herbert Gold, three of the most talented novelists of their generation. . . . And **Ralph de Toledano** writes about Judy, with love.

➔ Our poet, **Jack Matthews,** teaches at Urbana Jr. College (Ill.), writes short stories mostly for the quarterlies (he has published 22), and has written poetry for the *Nation,* the *New York Times,* and the *Antioch Review.* ➔

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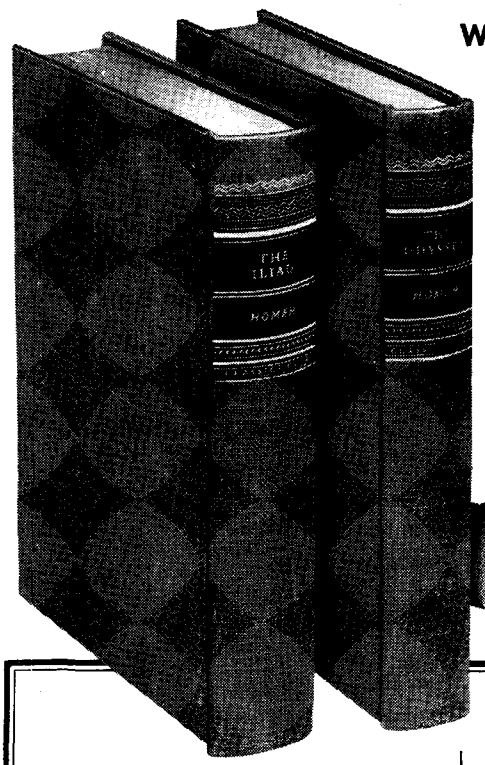

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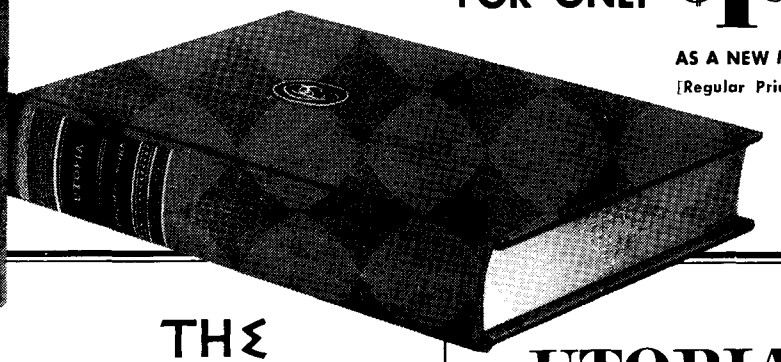

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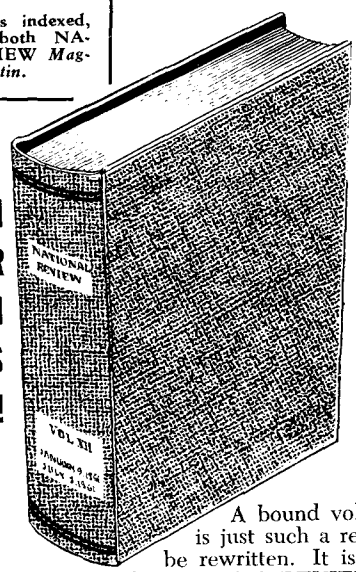

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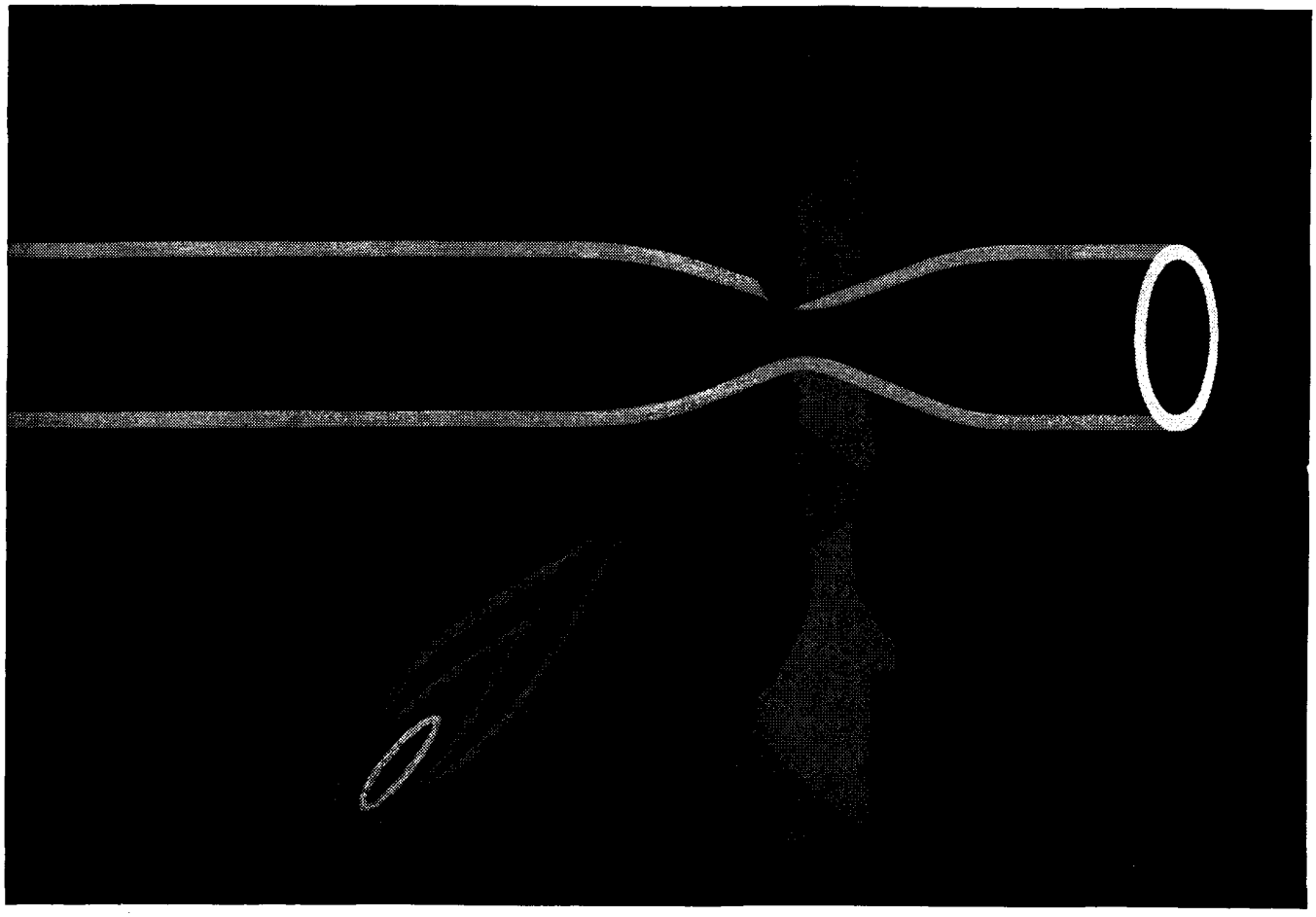

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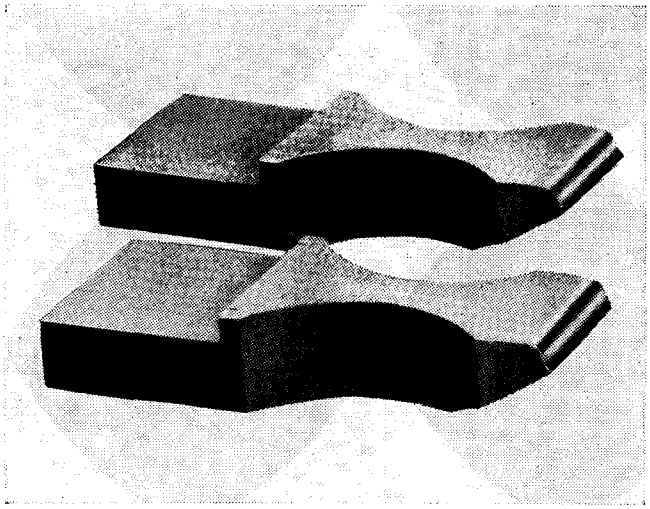

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The WEEK

● President Kennedy is reported to be relying less and less on the National Security Council. Returning the compliment, no doubt?

● *Précis of President Kennedy's August 13 speech*: Mah fellow citizens. This Administration inherited an economic mess from the previous Administration. After eighty-one weeks in office we have made a recovery from that recession. The stock market is on a sounder basis. Inflation is no longer a serious threat. I believe our dollar is as good as gold. Our Tax system is a serious barrier to long-term growth. But we should not change the tax law unless there is an emergency. There will be an emergency in January 1963. We shall propose tax changes then. Meanwhile, there is no emergency, and I urge the Congress to pass bills to stimulate business investment, to increase the public works program initiated in the Great Depression, to employ a million youngsters who are out of work, to perpetuate the federal unemployment benefits program, to cut tariffs so our capital will stop retreating to foreign lands, and to get federal participation in schools and universities. George Demartz of Hazleton, Pennsylvania, got his job through the Federal Government. Let's get this country sailing. Thank you, and good night.

● In the week that ended August 1, the U.S. gold reserve went down $60 million. Total outflow to date: $742 million, as against $877 throughout the whole year 1961. The Federal Reserve's elaborate borrowings of foreign currencies to "support" the dollar have not stanched the gold outflow and cannot do it: for our gold supports our currency in international affairs, and our currency supports the principal Western currencies, and the direction of support cannot be reversed by our going further into debt. What may help is to raise our interest rates; and this the Administration seems to be talking about, although in strange terms dealing with high interest rates for foreign deposits only. Such a system would be self-defeating, because domestic capital can always run around the corner, get dressed up like a foreign account, and come home seeking the higher rate, meanwhile having accelerated the gold outflow. Differential rates favoring foreign funds work only in conjunction with governmental control over the export of capital. If the Administration were not so fearful of the low-interest lobby in Congress and the monetary mythology of some of its advisers, it would simply raise interest rates across the board. That would be a long first step toward monetary health.

● If there was ever any doubt that the Supreme Court's prayer decision was unpopular with the American people, Dr. Gallup has now dispelled it. His latest poll shows that an astonishing 80 per cent of those questioned approve religious observances in public schools, while only 14 per cent oppose them. It is to channel this sentiment into constitutional writ that a Committee on Religious Liberty is being formed.

● Following the sensational defection of National Security Agency cryptographers Bernon Mitchell and William Martin to the Soviet Union at about U-2 time in 1960, the committee on Un-American Activities began investigations into NSA security procedures. Its findings, just released, disclose that the NSA, while technically complying with them, actually was acting "wholly outside the spirit" of security procedures by allowing uncleared appointees access to classified material, and by ignoring unfavorable facts turned up by field investigators and polygraphs (lie detectors). On Mitchell's record was his admission that he had practiced unnatural—and we mean unnatural—sexual acts between the ages of thirteen and nineteen; while Martin was revealed to have "major personality defects." The NSA was, moreover, unaware of "highly suspicious activities carried out by Mitchell and Martin while they were employed by the Agency." Along the way, the initial "Defense Department-NSA hostility" toward the Committee evaporated. HUAC notes that NSA and the Defense Department "have made a significant contribution to the national security by the manner in which they assisted the investigation and took steps to correct deficiencies pointed up in the course of the inquiry." Rack another one up for HUAC.

● Mr. W. H. Ferry is the principal administrative officer of the Fund for the Republic (which, having gone to California, has got itself a flossier name—Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions). Last week Mr. Ferry roundly attacked J. Edgar Hoover for making statements about the strength of the Communist arm within the United States which contradict the unimpeachable intuitions of himself, and his colleagues on the Fund, whose principal expert on the history and techniques of Communist subversion is Robert Hutchins. Mr. Ferry, *et al.*, have devoted themselves over the years to trying to construct a society in which internal subversion shall be rendered absolutely painless, and are understandably vexed by the implicit position of Mr. Hoover that people who steal our atom secrets ought

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to go to jail. Hoover has not replied, of course; but Bobby Kennedy has, to denounce Mr. Ferry's ignorance, and label him as an extremist, the counterpart, on the Left, of those who, on the Right, see a Communist under every bed. The meaning of the whole episode? Look for a renewal this fall of an organic attack on the internal security system. The ideologues have been raring to go, and others will follow the lead of Mr. Ferry.

● *Look* Magazine documents in its current issue what everyone with an ear to the ground has known for many months, namely, that the Kennedy Administration is more insistent on a favorable press than any administration in American history, and thinks nothing of using the FBI as an instrument of harassment against noncompliant newspapermen. The Kennedy line of defense is: "All we want is for the facts to be set down correctly. We never criticize other people's opinions." That line is an old totalitarian standby: this business of if-only-you-knew-the-facts (a Socratic heresy) is used by Marxists to say that everybody should be a Marxist, by racists to say that everybody should be anti-Semitic—and now by certain defenders of the policies of the Kennedy Administration to say everybody should like Jack (and his family). The author of the article in *Look*, the talented Mr. Fletcher Knebel, divides Washington newspapermen who have been "woodshedded" by Jack, or Bobby, or Pierre, into two groups: those who are amused by it all, and those who are not at all amused by it all—those who feel strongly that whatever its genesis, it's a disgraceful and seriously dangerous way to handle a free press.

● Westbrook Pegler has had his final feud with the Hearst press—out he goes, not only out of the Hearst-owned King Features, but out of the Hearst newspapers, also. The long account of the divorce in the wire service story mentioned all sorts of things about Pegler—his beginnings as a sports writer, his Pulitzer Prize in 1941, his legendary temper, his costly legal engagement with Quentin Reynolds—everything except what most wants mentioning in any account of Pegler, surely, namely that he is easily the greatest satirist in American journalism, and probably in American letters; that he is the most vigorous, and sometimes the most amusing polemical journeyman in the country. Who knows the inside story of the rupture? We don't, and don't particularly want to hear it. But there isn't anybody else like Pegler writing for Hearst these days, and no one around who can replace him.

● New York Political Note: the lovely and witty Rosemary McGrath, member of Young Americans for Freedom, is making great headway in her race for the Republican nomination for the New York Assembly, from New York's First Assembly District. Mrs. McGrath is not only adamantly conservative, she has a positive way with Liberals, kooks and non-kooks. She has succeeded in getting the support of persons ranging from William Rusher to Norman Mailer. She may yet emerge as the greatest political integratrix of the era. More anon: meanwhile, if you live anywhere near Greenwich Village, vote for Rosemary.

● Concerning the trend of Supreme Court decisions, one lawyer said last week: *The exaltation of liberties of individuals at the expense of equally valid indivisible liberties of all citizens who collectively constitute our nation has developed into an apotheosis of personal rights not only over property rights, but more widely over law enforcement, national security, foreign relations, citizenship, prevailing custom and a variety of other solemn claims of society and government.* The speaker was John C. Satterfield, president of the American Bar Association, and the occasion was the opening of the eighty-fifth annual meeting of the ABA. He remarked also the Supreme Court's agency in developing a more centralized national administration, the concomitant decline in states' rights, and the Court's less than clairvoyant assessment of the Communist design. Another lawyer, less famous for his legal scholarship than for his swimming pool, commented that Mr. Satterfield might not have "made a study" of certain matters.

● Come home, Bowles.

Plain Talk from the Plains

With so many acres of overgrown New Frontier prose to plow through daily, it was a relief to get back to the plain speech of West Branch, Iowa. Herbert Hoover, returned to his home town on his 88th birthday for the dedication of the Herbert Hoover Library, spoke not in the tongue of Harvard professors or professional ghost writers, but in the direct language of a true son of our heartland. Mr. Hoover's faith and duty and pride as an American are part of the fabric of his being: "There is a cry that the American way of life is on its way to decline and fall. I do not believe it. . . . This representative government, with its 186 years of life, has lasted longer than any other great republic in history. . . . Every year [brings] new scientific discoveries, new inventions and new ideas. It is true that they revolutionize and disturb our daily lives. But we can readily adjust ourselves and our government to them without the assistance of Karl Marx."

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But Mr. Hoover's Americanism has never been narrow or merely backward-looking. His name is first in our time among those who have brought food to the hungry and shelter to the uprooted, of every nation and race. And Mr. Hoover has been conspicuous, almost unique, among American conservatives for his lifelong advocacy of closer international organization as an imperative of our age. He supported the League of Nations and, against the bulk of conservative opinion, advocated our joining it. He favored our entry into the World Court, and urged Senate ratification of the United Nations Charter.

It is against this "internationalist" background that the central point of Mr. Hoover's West Branch speech takes on such special significance. No one can suspect him of bias or hostility toward the goal of international cooperation. But what Mr. Hoover, on this occasion that was symbolic of his life's achievement, felt that he has to tell his countrymen—45,000 of whom were gathered in their shirt sleeves and summer dresses on the sunny lawn before him—was the truth as dictated by the unpartisan facts: that, whatever our prior beliefs and present hopes, "now we must realize that the UN has failed to give us even a remote hope of lasting peace. Instead, it has added to the dangers of wars which now surround us. The disintegrating forces in the UN are the Communist nations who are in its membership. The Communist leaders, for 40 years, have repeatedly asserted that no peace can come to the world until they have overcome the free nations. One of their fundamental methods of expanding Communism over the earth is to provide conflicts, hostility, hate among other nations. . . . In sum, they have destroyed the usefulness of the UN to preserve peace."

Therefore, since the menace of Communism has become world-wide, Mr. Hoover concluded: "If the free nations are to survive, they must have a new and stronger world-wide organization to meet this menace . . . . I may call it the Council of Free Nations. It should include only those nations who are willing to stand up and fight for their freedom and independence. The foundations of the Council of Free Nations have already been laid [in NATO and the other] regional pacts. . . . I do not suggest that the Council of Free Nations should replace the UN . . . but I tell you that [such a Council] is the remaining hope of peace in the world."

President Kennedy, at Yale two months ago, called on the nation to abandon the myths of the past in order to meet the realities of the present. Will he, then, dare to follow his venerable predecessor in boldly abandoning the outworn myth of the United Nations for the most promising proposal yet advanced for meeting the present realities?

Angola: A Forewarning

Here is a confidential report to NATIONAL REVIEW *from a long-time resident of Angola who is an official of the Portuguese government:*

"Last December the Indian army that invaded Goa captured a quantity of Portuguese arms. Some of this material, mostly small arms, is being sent to the Indian UN troops in the Congo. The weapons are of little use to the Indian troops, who are well equipped already with weapons of much more modern make and of different calibre.

"There is good reason to suspect that the design is to show these Portuguese weapons to UN officials and foreign journalists with the tale that they were taken from Katangese guerrillas and foreign mercenaries—which would prove Portuguese interference in the Congo. Of course, the UN General Assembly would react with charges of Portuguese aggression against the UN, and the Afro-Asian bloc and the Communist bloc and the Western leaders who have been voting against Portugal would call for direct UN military intervention in Angola.

"In fact, military action is already in preparation. People's volunteers have been training for some time,

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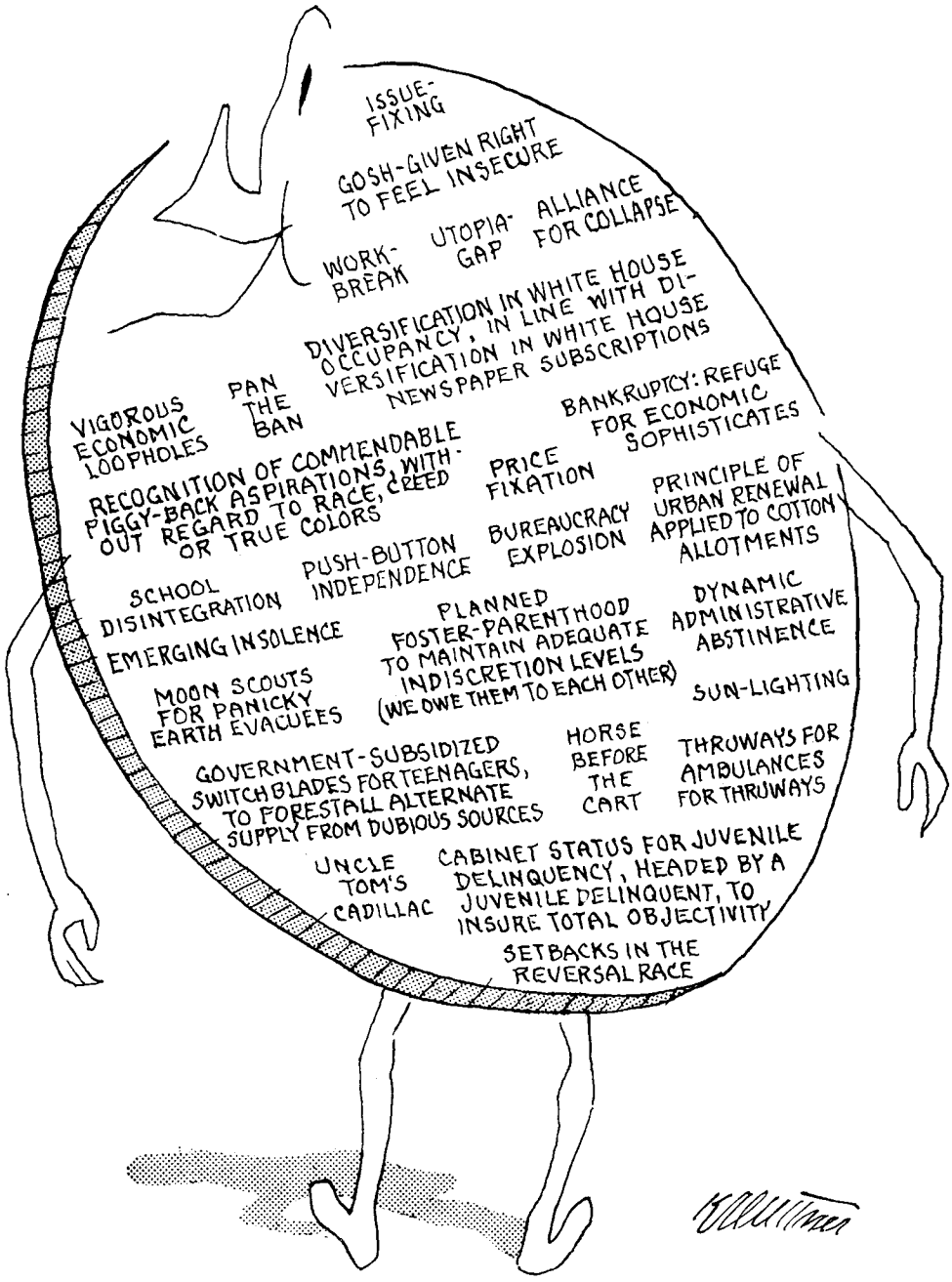
mainly in Ghana but also in Tunisia and in Sekou Touré's Guinea. The idea is to stage a simultaneous attack on the Cape Verde Islands, using Cape Verde Africans now residing in Dakar, and on Portuguese Guinea, using forces now gathering in Sekou Touré's Guinea. Ghana will loan her considerable fleet for the attack on the Cape Verde Islands and elements of her Air Force (including modern fighters and bombers) for the attack on Portuguese Guinea. Sekou Touré has 16,000 men, 50 tanks, 200 pieces of artillery. Russian and Czech officers have conducted the training and manned the cadres. Most of the equipment is Czech. Sekou Touré also has a Castro-style people's militia.

"If these forces can knock out the Portuguese air bases on Isla do Sal and at Bissau in Portuguese Guinea, Portugal could not send reinforcements by air to Angola: and the full plan includes a direct attack on Angola along with a diversionary feint at Cabinda, while the forces that have gathered in Tanganyika would move against Mozambique.

"And it will all be chalked up to Portuguese interference in the Congo and Portuguese aggression against UN troops. The proof, of course, will be the


ISSUE-FIXING
GOSH-GIVEN RIGHT TO FEEL INSECURE
WORK-BREAK
UTOPIA-GAP
ALLIANCE FOR COLLAPSE
DIVERSIFICATION IN WHITE HOUSE OCCUPANCY, IN LINE WITH DIVERSIFICATION IN WHITE HOUSE NEWSPAPER SUBSCRIPTIONS
VIGOROUS ECONOMIC LOOPHOLES
PAN THE BAN
BANKRUPTCY: REFUGE FOR ECONOMIC SOPHISTICATES
RECOGNITION OF COMMENDABLE PIGGY-BACK ASPIRATIONS, WITHOUT REGARD TO RACE, CREED OR TRUE COLORS
PRICE FIXATION
PRINCIPLE OF URBAN RENEWAL APPLIED TO COTTON ALLOTMENTS
SCHOOL DISINTEGRATION
PUSH-BUTTON INDEPENDENCE
BUREAUCRACY EXPLOSION
EMERGING INSOLENCE
PLANNED FOSTER-PARENTHOOD TO MAINTAIN ADEQUATE INDISCRETION LEVELS (WE OWE THEM TO EACH OTHER)
DYNAMIC ADMINISTRATIVE ABSTINENCE
MOON SCOUTS FOR PANICKY EARTH EVACUEES
SUN-LIGHTING
GOVERNMENT-SUBSIDIZED SWITCHBLADES FOR TEENAGERS, TO FORESTALL ALTERNATE SUPPLY FROM DUBIOUS SOURCES
HORSE BEFORE THE CART
THRUWAYS FOR AMBULANCES FOR THRUWAYS
UNCLE TOM'S CADILLAC
CABINET STATUS FOR JUVENILE DELINQUENCY, HEADED BY A JUVENILE DELINQUENT, TO INSURE TOTAL OBJECTIVITY
SETBACKS IN THE REVERSAL RACE

"Pardon my back! You see, I'm the Coin, and it occurred to me that you might want to keep up with what's on the other side of me."

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Portuguese weapons seized in Goa and possibly a few Portuguese traitors who will pose as Portuguese mercenaries captured in the Congo.

"The whole trumped-up scheme may start grinding any time after October. As it involves the close cooperation of Indian troops, the Ghanaian government, terrorists in the Congo, and Sekou Touré, all of whom are heavily tinted with Communist colors, there can be little doubt of the ultimate backing for the plan.

"It is crucial that this plan be recognized ahead of time for what it really is, and that the West not swallow the bait of manufactured 'evidence' in this latest episode of Communist aggression in Africa."

Featherbed v. *Roadbed*

As we went to press, the railroad industry was pledged to putting into effect on August 16 all of the recommendations made by the Presidential Railroad Commission. The most important of these recommendations would put an end to "featherbedding"—that amazing practice of retaining on the payroll men for whom, thanks to technical innovation, there is no work: coal shovelers, for example, who ride in the cabs of diesel locomotives.

The railway unions are fighting back with all they've got and not a little that they don't got. Full-page advertisements suddenly blossomed in major newspapers on August 13, analyzing the pleonastic prosperity of the railroad industry, proclaiming the astronomical increases in the productivity of railway employees, and calling for a formal investigation of the industry.

Much of the statistical argument advanced by the unions is plain wrong. Delving into history, the unions argue that rail stocks have been good investments since 1940. Not mentioned: that in 1940 the rails as a group were dashed to the floor after the chaos, bankruptcies, and reorganizations of the 1930s, and that the extraordinary traffic generated by the Second World War bailed them out. Select as your base year 1955 or 1950 or 1946 or even 1929—and you find quite a hapless history. Total traffic stagnant. Return on investment down. Stock prices down. Especially the Eastern roads. Do *you* know anyone who owns a rail stock?

As to productivity, total employment is down about 40 per cent since World War II, thanks to the hundreds of millions of dollars the rails invested in diesel power and automatic yard equipment. Productivity has increased, but the benefits have not flowed to the investor. The benefits have flowed, all of them, to the union employees, whose wages have risen faster than the productivity for which they are not in the slightest degree responsible. *Work done per dollar of wages has declined.*

Finally, the rail industry, like any industry, includes some strong and some weak companies. The Westerners, some of the Southerners, are fine and fat. The New Haven is in receivership, and the NY Central and Pennsy are sick, sick. The unions would impose an industry-wide work structure, which would slay some rails but not all. The industry calculates it spends $600 million a year for men who don't do anything useful. The unions think the rails could afford even fluffier featherbeds for their men.

This is an industry that has been performing a smaller and smaller portion of the national job over the years because it has been unable to cut its costs enough to attract new business. It is also an essential industry. It will be enlightening to learn how the Administration handles its "mandate" for national prosperity when one of the obstacles happens to be an elderly coal shoveler who insists on compelling his employer to hike his wages for lolly-gagging out the port window of an automatic diesel locomotive.

Ombudsman, Anyone?

Have you ever got a dirty deal from a Treasury tax agent—not the kind of thing to go to court about, but an arbitrary ruling that showed either personal bias or a defect in the law as applied to your case?

Have you ever tried to do business, only to find yourself strangled by officials of the Post Office, FCC, ICC, FTC or what not, who can't, or won't, let loose? . . . Has your health, solvency, or liberty ever been jeopardized by the neglect, stupidity or malice of some sclerotic bureaucrat? . . . Does a government office you have to deal with show gross favoritism in its treatment of citizens?

In our era of the Giant State, more and more of us would answer Yes, sadly adding that of course there isn't anything to be done about it.

The Scandinavian voters have done something about it, however. They have set up a new officer called the *Ombudsman,* a kind of Tribune of the People, to whom any citizen can bring his grievance against a bureau or bureaucrat. The Ombudsman can question the accused official, see all the files, publicize the incident, and demand appropriate redress. The mere existence of the Ombudsman, with his independent and privileged powers, has served, they say, to curb the Scandinavian bureaucrats' natural arrogance. The idea has been spreading abroad and winning admirers wherever it goes. New Zealand is the first of what will surely be a great many countries to follow the Scandinavian example. A New Zealand Ombudsman will be named later this year.

The civil service—that is, the bureaucracy—views the plan, according to a recent dispatch, "with grave misgivings."

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Marilyn Monroe RIP

The orthodox memorial pieces, abroad as in our own press, have presented Marilyn Monroe as one more sad and helpless victim crushed in the jaws of Hollywood. This conventional treatment, repeated for every Hollywood notable who dies unfortunately, has never jerked many of our tears. After all, no one is forced to go to Hollywood; and not everyone who goes there ends in disaster. As a matter of fact, Hollywood did very well by Marilyn Monroe; and she, in her best movies, did well, sometimes marvelously well, by Hollywood. In the piteous, fearful circumstances of her early life, there was enough to explain why unhappiness was almost certain to be her destiny. The arguments over the quality of her acting are really pointless, since everyone sensed that she was not an actress in a usual sense, but one of those charismatic beings whom the masses—in her case, the masses throughout the world—seize on, to transform into a symbol serving some deep interior need. In ancient days such symbols were created out of whole imagination, to become the nymphs and satyrs and companions of gods. And Marilyn Monroe, in conduct, temperament, naughtiness, was a close sister to Aphrodite, Hera and the other fuller-bosomed among the Olympian goddesses. Man finds it hard to resist some sort of polytheism. We, thinking ourselves more sophisticated than the Greeks, refuse to permit our goddesses to be imaginary only. We thrust real women onto Olympus; and the cliffs are steep.

Notes and Asides

Just to *prove* we're not vindictive, we plumb forgot, last issue, to report the latest piquancy involving that old mountebank, the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell Jr. The very day NATIONAL REVIEW's July 31 issue, defending itself against the charges of Edward Bennett Williams (that we had forced a tax case against Powell which never would have got out from the grand jury under normal conditions), came out, what should transpire, but that the government has claimed forty thousand dollars from Powell in back due taxes and penalties dating from 1949 to 1953, alleging that income taxes were fraudulently withheld. Mr. Powell has pleaded not guilty. Edward Bennett Williams is reported to be off writing a supplement to his book, disclosing who is responsible *this* time for getting Mr. Powell into trouble. It could be anybody, except, of course, Adam Powell.

● The editors of NATIONAL REVIEW announce that none of them plans to run, or even ramble, for the Presidency in 1962. Their decision is final.

For the Record

Behind the appointment of Charles Bohlen as ambassador to France, an inter-elite squabble. W.W. Rostow reportedly opposed giving Bohlen any job which would keep him in Washington. . . . Some dopesters now believe Bobby Kennedy's next move will be to run for governor of Massachusetts next time round, which will, they say, give him more leverage if he has Presidential aspirations for '68. . . . Sen. Scott (R., Pa.), who says he's been around so long he can spot a trial balloon "before it leaves the rooftop," says the balloons are up now, that the Administration is trying to "condition the American people into believing that it will not be necessary for the U.S. to go to Russia to inspect" a nuclear test ban. . . . Assistant Secretary of State Harlan Cleveland admitted in a Committee hearing the other day that $215 million of foreign aid funds which the Administration has turned over to the UN has been used to reduce the UN assessments of other member-nations. . . . In his long-winded speech at the World Congress for General Disarmament in Moscow, Nikita Khrushchev singled out for criticism NR contributor and stalwart anti-Communist Rodney Gilbert.

Richard Terwagne, a director of Union Minière, says for Union Minière to pay half its taxes to the Central Congo government isn't as easy as it sounds. The company's facilities, he points out, are scattered over a 6,000-square-mile area where the "Katangese gendarmerie is in complete control." . . . In France, Algerian refugees (Promeneurs de Liberté) no longer allowed to settle in four overcrowded southern departments: they are given travel fare north upon arrival in Marseilles and other southern air and sea ports. . . . French authorities now admit nearly 500 Europeans have been kidnapped in Oran and Algiers alone since July 3. . . . Among things Marshal Juin lost when he was forcibly retired several weeks ago because of his criticism of the government were: half his retirement pay, free quarters, and his military aide and secretary.

Automotive tidbit: In South Africa, car ownership among Black Africans is higher proportionately than it is for the Russian population.

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On the Right

The Perplexing Candidacy of Professor Hughes

WM. F. BUCKLEY JR.

Lawrence Spivak, impresario of *Meet the Press,* has eyes that see farther through the political mists than most people's, and last week they lit on H. Stuart Hughes, professor of history at Harvard University who, having got himself 140,000 names on a petition, is now officially on the ballot as an independent candidate for senator from Massachusetts, opposing in all probability Teddy Kennedy (D.) and George Lodge (R.). It takes more than a mere appetite to be a senator to get on Mr. Spivak's program. Mr. Hughes may end up (probably will) sending Lodge to the Senate by drawing away from Kennedy a crucial number of votes. But the true importance of Mr. Hughes' race, it has generally been understood by sophisticated political observers, would lie in indicating what is the latent strength in this country of the neutralist-pacifist-collaborationist vote. H. Stuart Hughes has been a prominent spokesman for the position that we should renounce our nuclear arsenal, whether or not the Soviet Union does. He is, in a way, America's Bertrand Russell.

Buckley

Unfortunately, Mr. Hughes has now thoroughly confused the issue (and, no doubt, many of his partisans)—by running away from unilateralism on Mr. Spivak's program at breakneck speed.

In an essay he wrote a year or so ago, which is reprinted in *An Approach to Peace,* his most recent book, Mr. Hughes wrote: "I can find no alternative to the renunciation of thermonuclear deterrence as an instrument of national strategy. The risks in such a course are appalling. There is no final answer to the argument from blackmail and to accusations of 'appeasement' and 'surrender.' The only remotely satisfactory reply is that these risks are preferable to the horror of thermonuclear war itself." That's plain enough, is it not? And if you want the whole dose: "Those of us who advocate the abandonment of deterrence must realize that we have set forth on uncharted ground and that we may find ourselves pushed step by step into a moral radicalism which few of our fellow citizens will understand and which may end in transcending more than one of the loyalties that most Americans take for granted." Unscrambled, that means: all those of Mr. Hughes' persuasion must be prepared, if necessary, to subvert American foreign policy.

But you should have seen the professor on TV! He is, to begin with, a supremely engaging human being, softspoken, plausible, gentle, the kind of man one rushes to disbelieve anything unpleasant about. Several times, he flatly renounced unilateralism.

Q. Are you in favor of unilateral disarmament?

A. No. I think that is, as the term is usually used, definitely not what I am for. I am for gradualism, for what is usually referred to as a policy of independent initiatives. . . .

Q. . . . But in your book you say: "I have been labelled a unilateralist in the popular press. I am quite willing to accept the label. . . . The sole means of overcoming distrust is for one of the parties to prove by actions rather than words that it has faith in the other. I suggest the United States be the one to make the gesture."

A. . . . I am trying to make it crystal-clear that I am not in favor of scrapping our whole nuclear striking force. Whereas, the phraseology in the book was ambiguous on that score. I will admit that there is a certain ambiguity in the book.

Q. So if the Soviet Union refused to go along in a program of nuclear disarmament you would be against our nuclear disarmament?

A. I would say after we had taken three or four preliminary steps that we would expect a response from the Soviet Union. It would obviously be irresponsible simply to go on without anything in return. . . .

So much so good—the prodigal son is always welcome home. The trouble is, Professor Hughes tried to persuade his questioners that he had not taken the unilateralist position in his book, driving those who had read it to the conclusion that he was trimming his views so as to spare the voters of Massachusetts other knowledge of the essential radicalism of his views. If Professor Stuart Hughes, acknowledged unilateralist, gets a hundred or two hundred thousand votes in a Massachusetts general election, that is news of world-wide moment. If Professor H. Stuart Hughes, a mere left-Liberal with a position on foreign policy not dramatically different from that of the President of the United States gets such a vote, we shall merely yawn. In any event, those who are thinking of voting for Mr. Hughes should read his book.

He writes fervently about the need for "utopianizing" our national policies, to which end he is willing to contribute his entire stock of private reason, which has led him to conclude that there is nothing wrong with Communism as an economic system (p. 40), that Communism appeals to over one-half of the people of the world (p. 19), that the struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union is, actually, supremely irrelevant to most of the world's people (p. 16), that no truly discerning man can have approved of the attempted invasion of Cuba (p. 174), that the question whether Hiss was guilty is still open (p. 180), that our nuclear deterrent has not in fact deterred the Soviet Union from anything (p. 76), that we ought to recognize Red China (p. 86) and destroy our nuclear weapons whether the Russians do or not (p. 67), and do this, moreover, to show that we have faith that the Communists will not initiate a nuclear war against us (p. 70). For further details, address Freak House, Harvard U., which by the way is suffering a population explosion.

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From Washington Straight

CATO

The United Nations bond issue is in serious trouble in the House. Oddly enough, the Katanga situation, which many here view as the UN's Achilles heel, has little to do with the probability that Congress will turn thumbs down on the proposal. The real threat to the bond issue —as to so much of the Kennedy Administration legislative program— is voter reaction, forcefully expressed. A number of House members have polled their constituencies in the past eight months, and one thing which emerges from most of these polls is that the UN bond is about as popular as Mighty Casey was in Mudville that historic night. And this being an election year, the members are paying a good deal of attention to the opinion of the voters.

Cato

Knowing this, the White House arranged a meeting with members of the House Foreign Affairs Committee a week or so ago. (The Foreign Affairs Committee was, up to that point, showing great reluctance in reporting out the Senate version of the measure.) At the meeting, the President seemed most eager to make concessions. He agreed to one stipulation, that the U.S. match purchases (not pledges) by other nations only up to $100 million, and to another which would prohibit using the funds obtained from the sale of bonds to pay off the indebtedness of any other member nation to the UN.

This tactic paid off. On August 9 the UN bond issue was reported out. But only after a considerable hassle. Rep. Ross Adair (R., Ind.) led a move within the Committee to kill the bill, and he's now taking the lead in an attempt to beat it when it comes to a vote on the floor of the House.

Republican supporters of the bill— Rep. Robert Chipperfield, ranking GOP member of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and Rep. Walter Judd, chief among them—argue this way: Failure to pass the bill, they say, will result in the UN's withdrawal from its "peace-keeping" operations in the Congo and the Gaza Strip. It will mean that the UN will be unable to engage in any further peace-keeping activities. And they fear that in the absence of UN "police forces," the United States may well have to use its own troops to keep peace in troubled areas around the world. (Well, anyway, that's *their* argument.)

Opponents of the measure, of course, base their stand on the opposite side of the coin. The presence of UN troops in the Congo, they say, is, if anything, an incitement to war. They would like to see a withdrawal of United Nations soldiers from the Congo, fearing that their presence there will bring about the same chaos and disorder in Katanga which prevail through much of the rest of the Congo.

The anti-UN forces have another powerful argument. If the House does approve the UN bond issue with the restrictions written into it which the White House approved, what guarantee is there that the House-Senate conferees will not—as they have on a dozen or more other measures— throw out the House version and adopt the Senate bill? As a straw in the wind, the *Washington Post*, which seldom takes issue with the Administration, recently blasted the restrictive amendments editorially and demanded their removal.

The Republican Policy Committee, many of whose members bitterly oppose the UN bond, probably will not take a formal position on the matter on the grounds that this might make it a party issue and throw a number of anti-bond Democrats into the other camp.

A frequent complaint heard among Republican leaders on Capitol Hill these days concerns the Administration's penchant for claiming "victories" when GOP-supported bills pass the House or Senate. This was the case when the foreign aid bill cleared the House, and there have been several other recent instances of ill-timed White House crowing.

Another complaint centers around contrived "leaks." The President will meet with legislative leaders, including Republican senators and representatives, to discuss various programs and problems. After the meeting, newsmen friendly to the Administration will be told that Republican leaders have given their stamp of approval to this or that project, when in many cases (Laos, for instance) they have not even been given the opportunity to voice an opinion, let alone give their approval.

Two weeks ago Sen. Everett Dirksen, speaking at the weekly Joint Senate-House GOP leadership press conference, blasted the Administration for its continuing concessions to the Soviets at the Geneva disarmament talks. That same afternoon Nelson Rockefeller also lashed out at the Administration.

The Administration's new line is that concessions which lessen the number of inspection stations on Soviet soil are justified in the light of "important new scientific discoveries" which will enable the U.S. to detect nuclear tests anywhere in the world without on-site inspections. If this were true, GOP fears about concessions might well be groundless. But it just ain't so. And by claiming that it is, the Administration is perpetrating a fraud.

Rep. Chet Holifield, the California Democrat who chairs the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee and is thus in a position to know what the U.S. can and cannot do, has said publicly that he doubts "very much" whether the U.S. can detect nuclear explosions in any part of the world.

He is backed in this by the ranking Republican on the Committee, Rep. Craig Hosmer, and by Sen. Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania. Hosmer says, "Discoveries by ARPA (the Defense Department's Advanced Research Projects Agency) simply do not support the new Administration position on the Geneva test ban. They are attempting to support a political decision by technical facts which do not exist. The proposal is unsafe as to inspection, and, as to detection, it is likewise inadequate."

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The Wall: One Year Later

To West Berliners, the Wall has become the tip-off: It symbolizes the weakening American will to resist Communist aggression, in Germany, in Cuba, in Laos . . .

NORBERT MUHLEN

Although New Frontiersmen and their cheerleaders may prefer to ignore it, the mood of Berlin has been changing over the past year. The "brave Berliners," as they have been rightly stereotyped since blockade days, are as brave as ever, and just as eager as always actively to resist Communism; but today they often wonder whether their bravery is still wanted by the Free World.

Most foreign visitors in Berlin hear few of these doubts. The taxi driver and the reception committee official still feel duty-bound to assure them that the city's fighting spirit remains strong. But among themselves Berliners talk in a different, more disenchanted way. Their confidence in the West seems somewhat shaken. Not that they believe in the outright betrayal of their city—hardly anyone foresees a "deal" at the price of their own freedom. What they are afraid of is that the West will not resist—let alone counterattack—the next and all subsequent minor Soviet moves undercutting their strength until, in the end, Berlin will be ripe for surrender. The "salami technique" by which this would be achieved is a term with which everybody in Berlin seems familiar, and which recurs in every talk about the future.

According to two consecutive public opinion surveys commissioned by Berlin's Senate (city government), conducted in depth by independent researchers, and never published, the majority trend is moving from its previous confidence in the Western Allies to a new negative attitude of little hope, much distrust, intermittent cynicism. It follows that the once activist anti-Communism of the city tends to be more passive. This new posture stems in the main from the new image of Washington coming to the fore in Berlin. Characteristic of it was an incident on the seventeenth of last June when Berliners commemorated the ninth anniversary of the East German uprising. Adenauer, whose image as the Cold Warrior has not paled, had gone to Berlin. At his appearance, members of a crypto-Communist Socialist students' group suddenly unfolded a banner proclaiming: "Kennedy will make this a Free City despite Adenauer's meddling." The Soviet objective is, of course, free city status for Berlin, and the President of the United States was made in this way to appear to support this position.

Disenchantment

What could have successfully created this image in the eyes of Berliners when even critics of Kennedy's foreign policy in this country point to his firmness on Berlin as one of the few bright spots on his record? Obviously, the Berliner's disenchantment with the West began just one year ago in the early Sunday morning hours of August 13, when the Wall was erected to divide their city in two. While Washington patiently explained that the Wall proved the weakness of the East, to Berliners it meant only one thing: a naked symbol of Soviet strength which would stand so long as the Wall itself were permitted to stand. Today, as much as a year ago, a favorite and frequent topic of Berlin conversation is why the West did nothing to meet the challenge other than to send out a few letters of protest which no one took seriously. Much new evidence that has since accumulated, particularly from East German policemen who have fled to the West, leaves little doubt that the Soviets had banked on this supine Western acceptance of their challenge, but would have backed down if the West had defended its rights. To outside observers the Wall may have become an accepted fact of life, but for Berliners—who are reminded of it several times each day, by their morning and their afternoon papers, by radio and TV, by their frequent visits to the *corpus delicti*—it presents the background for the fearful thought that the West remains silent when the East advances.

At the first, in the hope that their fear was unfounded, they cheered Lyndon Johnson when he arrived with a brisk pep talk. Later on, their cheers for the second distinguished visitor from the New Frontier, Bobby Kennedy, were more in the nature of a plea—"please tell your brother

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to stand up for us." But Mr. Kennedy (whose original draft of his Berlin speech explaining the nature of democracy to the Berliners was scrapped) remarked about the Wall only that "it has to be seen to be believed," which did not seem a particularly reassuring insight to the beleaguered people of Berlin, East and West. The cheers were almost inaudible when Dean Rusk, who did not want to include Berlin in his European itinerary at all, finally made such a hasty side trip to Berlin that he was able to spend twenty minutes —no more—for a discussion of Western plans for Berlin with Mayor Willy Brandt. The Berliners, who are proud of their *Galgenhumor* ("Good humor of the gallows"), quipped that this was a "calculated Rusk," and they added: "If Jack could only send us Caroline."

Great genuine hopes, however, were aroused throughout Berlin when less than three weeks after the apparition of the Wall, the President sent General Lucius B. Clay to the city as his personal representative. They hoped that Clay—who ranks as a national hero several cuts above, say, King Frederick the Great in Berlin today—would "be tough with the Russians" as he had been in the perilous and glorious days of the Airlift. And Clay was the man to justify such hopes. But unhappily, and by no fault of the General, the great hope he aroused ended in as great a disappointment.

This personal representative with the rank of ambassador was not empowered by the terms of his appointment to change existing responsibilities of U.S. military and diplomatic officers in Germany, but he was to have a personal and direct wire to the White House. There was only one hitch: this wire never seemed to work. Clay's letters to the President went unanswered. And the authorities on the spot showed no inclination to adjust their own policy to the tougher proposals of the newcomer. With the actual power in their hands, and the built-in bureaucratic tendency to snub the outsider, it was easy for them to freeze him out. With a title and little else, Clay's mission was almost bound to fail, despite a high sense of duty which kept him at his post and fighting.

General Clay achieved much that was concrete while in Berlin. His personal letters to American industrialists and big businessmen, suggesting that they open branches in the former German capital and thereby give evidence of their trust in its continued freedom, met with a positive response from some. Highly commendable though this was, Clay's Berlin mission transcended this glorified fund-raising function. But almost every other action he proposed or initiated in the political-military field in which he had distinguished himself before, and which seemed his main assignment now, was quickly ruled out or abandoned again by those in command. One of his first actions was to visit by helicopter the tiny village of Steinstuecken, which belongs to the American sector of Berlin but is surrounded by Soviet-controlled territory and connected with West Berlin only by a path which the Communists control. Almost mirroring the situation of West Berlin itself, though in miniature, this village had been neglected for years by U.S. representatives. Clay saw here a good opportunity to demonstrate to the Communists as well as to the Berliners that this country would not give up any rights under Russian pressure. But after his first visit to the hamlet he was dissuaded from going again, and no GIs were deployed there. The occasion was "too trivial." To garrison Steinstuecken would be "too provocative" —or so the diplomatic and military regulars argued.

> *". . . we must seek to discourage anti-Communist bloodshed and war. We must, under our principles, live with evil even if by doing so we help to stabilize tottering Communist regimes, as in East Germany, and perhaps even expose citadels of freedom, like West Berlin, to slow death by strangulation."*
>
> New York Times
> *Editorial: August 16, 1961*

The same pattern dominated Clay's other activities in Berlin. He ordered U.S. Army tanks lined up at "Checkpoint Charlie" to protect American access rights to East Berlin, but they were hastily recalled when Soviet tanks drove up to face them—even before the Soviet tanks were moved back. When, in February, Russian aircraft threatened civilian planes in the air corridor to and from Berlin, Clay immediately proposed that fighter escorts accompany them for protection, to reconfirm the right of the West to control this corridor. Clay's suggestion—which, in this case, had to pass through the NATO chain of command—was vetoed.

If these measures were discarded as "too provocative," other ideas emanating from Clay's office designed to show that the United States intends to hold its own in Berlin fared no better: they were blackballed as "too trivial." For that reason, no American officers were permitted to attend the East Berlin opera in uniform; no U.S. Army children had outings through the East Berlin canals on PT-boats; no United States travel bureau was opened in East Berlin although a large, luxurious travel bureau is open for business in West Berlin. This negative list of what was not done to show America's determination to stand on its occupation rights could be continued far into the night. The "abnormal status" of Soviet-oppressed East Berlin was accepted. But when a high-ranking State Department group tried to pressure the West German Government into offering Russia a new, multinational Berlin Access Authority, which would include Communist and neutralist countries, it was too much—General Clay resigned.

The President did not answer the letter by which his personal representative announced his forthcoming resignation. The letter, as the White House later explained, had been lost somewhere en route. But there was no delay in the order to fire James P. O'Donnell, Clay's chief Berlin as-

(Continued on p. 144)

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The Third World War

Wandering Planet's Course

JAMES BURNHAM

"Are We Headed in the Wrong Direction?" Dwight Eisenhower asks in the August 17 *Saturday Evening Post*. He concludes, if I have succeeded in penetrating the thickets of platitude, that where we are moving fast and up, in budgets or spaceships, the answer is Yes.

"What we need in this country is . . . to put first things first." "No reasonable person wants to endanger national security by cutting defense spending below safe limits." "Money alone cannot solve the problem [of the Red threat], and *to spend more than necessary can damage our overall position as surely as spending too little.*" General Eisenhower deploys these invulnerable truisms as a screening force to cover the advance of a flanking paragraph on the space program.

"By all means," he continues, "we must carry on our explorations in space, but I frankly do not see the need for continuing this effort as such a fantastically expensive crash program. . . . Why the great hurry to get to the moon and the planets? . . . From here on, I think we should proceed in an orderly, scientific way, building one accomplishment on another, rather then engaging in a mad effort to win a space race.

"If we must compete with Soviet Russia for world 'prestige', why not channel the struggle along the lines in which we excel—and which mean so much to the masses of ordinary citizens? Let's put some other items in this 'prestige' race: . . . our cars for almost everybody instead of just the favored few . . . our supermarkets loaded with a profusion of appetizing foods."

Many of his readers will share these qualms—or would have until ten days ago—about our vast space programs, particularly about Project Apollo and its successors, designed to take man himself to the moon and other planets. General Eisenhower objects with a conservative rhetoric, protesting from a sound-dollar, balanced-budget premise the "fantastic" cost and "mad" haste. But objections are also being launched from a Liberal base. In *Saturday Review*, for example, Professor Warren Weaver, one-time president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, mournfully lists all the welfare that could be bought with the moonshot billions: big salary hikes for all professors; juicy fellowships for oodles of scientists; ten new medical schools; complete new universities for all the new nations, etc.

Both conservative and Liberal critics are applying a utilitarian standard. In sum, they argue that the far-out space program is not "rational": by which they mean that it does not serve any useful economic, scientific or military purpose.

How Rational is Man?

Now whether the super-space program is in fact rational as so defined is, I think, arguable. No one knows what the economic consequences, direct and indirect, may be; but it does seem probable that a slower, less wrenching program would be preferable economically. The scientific balance is not so clear. Doubtless there is no strictly scientific reason in favor of a fast, all-out pace for Apollo and his offspring, but there are sure to be great scientific and technological gains, many of them unanticipated by-products, from the big projects.

In the military dimension, the first establishment of a permanent space platform or moon base might well yield overwhelming preponderance; and if we interpret "military" to include the whole range of conflict with the Communist enterprise, there is more than enough justification for a space program on our part even more grandiose than anything so far planned. Surely the world response to Vostok III and IV should put that beyond doubt. In spite of General Eisenhower's reasonable conviction, our cars for almost everybody and our supermarkets loaded with a profusion of foods—appetizing or not—just *don't* mean as much to the masses of ordinary citizens as Sputnik, Telstar, Friendship, Aurora and Vostok. To appreciate the weight of the space factor in the world power equilibrium, we need only ask ourselves how the Cold War score would stand today if the Communists had done nothing in space.

Toward the Stars

But whatever the net accounting in terms of rational purpose, this by no means settles the matter of our space program. There is a great deal more to man than is allowed for in either General Eisenhower's or Professor Weaver's philosophy. The overriding reality is the fact that man has decided to move out into space. Not for any reason, for no more reason than drives men up the slopes of Everest or in a tiny boat across the Atlantic or on a scaffolding for ten years under the Sistine ceiling. The "reasons" are, really—even if they happen to be valid in their own right—rationalizations of what springs from roots far deeper, and darker, than reason.

It makes no difference what the space program will cost—and of course it is going to cost double, triple, ten times as much in money as any figure anyone has so far mentioned, and very much, too, in suffering and death: not all space flights will have happy endings. It will make no difference whether anyone proves incontrovertibly that the whole program is worthless in economic, scientific, military and all other rational terms. The terrible cold and darkness, the destroying radiations, the silence and desolation and tragedy will make no difference, will only make the seduction of space more compelling.

Our souls, whose faculties can comprehend
The wondrous architecture of the world,
And measure ev'ry wandering planet's course,
Wills us to wear ourselves and never rest . . .

And Tamburlaine will no more find sweet fruitions in a galactic than in an earthly crown.

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Congo: The Untold Story

This much is certain: Continue to play the Nehru, Afro-Asian game and, as surely as Tshombe is not a "clown," the strategically vital Congo will be lost

THOMAS J. DODD

Our Congo policy is now clearly at an impasse, and we seem to be headed in the direction of another round of bloodletting. The time has come to speak out and to tell the American people the incredible story of how and where our Congo policy went off the tracks.

In the Congo situation to date, we have sought to use the UN not as an essential vehicle of our foreign policy, which it is, but as a substitute for a foreign policy of our own, which it is not. We have supported the dangerous precedent of using military forces under UN command for the purpose of bringing about the reunification of the Congo or, to be more exact, for the purpose of forcing the submission of the Province of Katanga to the Central Government in Léopoldville.

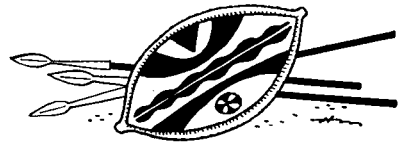
Our Congo policy has been a product of the utopian tendency to regard the UN as a kind of neutral and benevolent international organism, which by its nature, seeks to compromise conflicting national interests in a manner that best benefits the international community. This utopian concept of the UN has led us, in a number of situations, to submit passively to the will of the massive Afro-Asian bloc. In reality, the UN is an organization with no policy of its own; its policy in any given situation is something that emerges from a contest between contending interests.

It should now be clear to all that the UN policy in the Congo is not paying off. The consequences of this policy, in fact, run completely counter to our stated objective in the Congo.

We seek unity in the Congo. But, with force and threats of force as our chief instruments, no formula has yet been found for regulating the relationship between Katanga and the Central Government. For that matter, it is generally admitted today that the authority of the Central Government barely exists outside Léopoldville.

We seek to encourage the forces of moderation. But our policy has thus far only served to encourage the extremists in the Central Government who desire nothing less than the total submission of Katanga; while, on the other side, it has only served to inflame the spirit of nationalism among the peoples of Katanga and to harden their resistance.

We seek economic stability for the Congo. But the Congo, outside Katanga, is still spiraling down and down and down in the direction of total economic chaos. Industries are not operating; revenues are not being collected; unemployment is massive;



the budget is more than twice as great as the Government's anticipated income; and the corruption and inefficiency of the Léopoldville government have now become an international scandal.

We have committed ourselves to the maintenance of peace and the avoidance of civil war as prime objectives in the Congo. But there has in recent weeks been talk in the press of the possibility that the UN will again take military action against Katanga, or else will support an invasion of Katanga by the National Congolese Army. Already the attempt is being made to institute broad economic sanctions against Katanga.

Civil war between Léopoldville and Katanga would not be a simple civil war, but a civil war superimposed on a tribal war and a UN war. Such a war might conceivably destroy whatever vestige of order still remains in the Congo, and turn the country over, first to chaos, and then to Communism.

In order to understand what is happening today in the Congo, and where we have gone wrong, it is necessary to go back to the beginning and examine the sequence of events since July 1960, when the Congo received its independence.

Basic Facts

In evaluating the Congo crisis, there are three basic background facts that should always be kept in mind. The first fact is that the Free World and the Communist world are playing for enormously high economic stakes in the Congo.

Katanga is enormously rich in its own right. It provides 8 per cent of the world's copper, 70 per cent of the world's cobalt, 80 per cent of the world's germanium—from which transistors are made—and large quantities of other precious minerals. But beyond this, it is the heartland of the vast mineral wealth of the African Continent.

Most of this mineral wealth is contained in one large oval cluster, about 500 miles in width and 800 miles in depth. Within the perimeter of this oval, in addition to the mineral wealth of Katanga, there are the diamond mines of South Africa and Rhodesia, the gold mines of South Africa, bauxite, asbestos, manganese, platinum, chromium, iron, and many other minerals.

The second basic fact is that the Congo is also the center of what might be described as a belt of political vulnerability stretching across the southern portion of the African Continent. If political vulnerability were indicated by shadings, Portuguese Angola on the west of the Congo, Northern Rhodesia on the south, and Portuguese Mozambique on the east would have to be depicted in dark

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gray. The establishment of a Communist regime in the Congo would enable the Kremlin to take over all of the countries within this band of political vulnerability, and this with very little effort or delay.

Once this were done, the Kremlin would have bases on both the Atlantic Ocean and the Indian Ocean. Having bisected the African Continent, it would then be in a position to push north and to push south, to complete its conquest of the African Continent.

The Congo, therefore, is the key to the control of the African Continent, economically, politically, and militarily. This is basic fact No. 2.

Basic fact No. 3 has to do with the strategy of political conquest which the Kremlin has designed for this portion of Africa. This strategy is incredibly simple, incredibly cruel, and has proved itself incredibly effective. It seeks to drive out the white people by violence and terror, thus creating a vacuum which only the Communists can fill. Indeed, I am informed that the Communists are offering large sums of cash to African nationalist leaders for "delivered" acts of violence against whites.

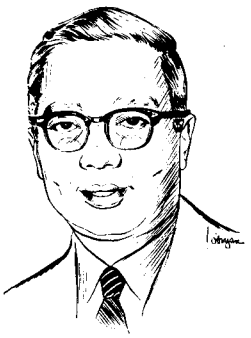
To the extent that the Congo is held together economically, it is dependent on the core of white technicians who work in its mines, its plantations and its industries, to the white teachers who staff its schools and universities, to the white doctors who will have to staff its hospitals for many years to come, to the missionaries who have done so much to bring peace and order and civilization to the Congo. A single incident, however, is sufficient to persuade thousands of white people to leave the Congo, taking with them their families and a critical portion of the fabric of order and civilization.

Before the massacre of the thirteen Italian airmen at Kindu last November there were approximately one thousand white technicians in the city, most of them associated with Kindu's great river port facilities. After the massacre, I was told, only fifty of these white technicians remained.

Such is the terrible price of the violence fanned by Lumumba and the agents of Moscow.

The Congo got its independence on June 30, 1960. On July 6, 1960, as if at a given signal, soldiers throughout the Congo mutinied against their white officers, and berserk demonstrators rampaged through the residential areas of Congolese cities in a national orgy of murder, mayhem, rape, and pillaging. Instead of attempting to restrain his countrymen and restore order, Patrice Lumumba, as Prime Minister, fanned the flames and incited his people with demagogic appeals to black racism.

The reaction to the July events was a mass flight of Belgian technicians, administrators, and medical men. For more than a week, Sabena Airlines diverted its entire fleet to the Congo to remove the terrified refugees. To protect Belgian lives and property, the Belgian Government sent several units of paratroops back to the Congo. It was at this point that Lumumba appealed to the UN, requesting the urgent dispatch of UN military assistance to protect the Congo against Belgian military intervention. Meeting on the night of July 13 and 14, the Security Council adopted a Tunisian resolution calling upon Belgium to withdraw its troops from the Congo and authorizing the Secretary General to provide such military assistance as might be necessary until the Congolese security forces were in a position to meet fully their tasks. This was the beginning of the UN Congo army which today numbers some fifteen thousand men.



Meanwhile, on July 11, President Tshombe had proclaimed Katanga an independent country, after moving resolutely to put down a mutiny among the troops stationed in Elisabethville and to restore public order in the Province. In explaining his action, President Tshombe pointed to the disorders that were rampant throughout the northern Congo. "I am seceding from chaos," he said.

The United Nations did not recognize Katanga's secession. On the other hand, Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold refused Lumumba's demand for UN intervention and took the stand that the UN force could not become a party to internal conflicts in the Congo.

During the months of July and August, Soviet and Czechoslovak and other Communist bloc technicians poured into the Congo by the hundreds. At the height, there were some six hundred of these experts in Léopoldville attached to the Communist embassies. Western intelligence agencies were also able to trace the influx of fantastic sums of Communist money. Communist arms and trucks and planes began to arrive, most of them through Stanleyville.

It seemed as though nothing could save the Congo.

We have been told repeatedly over the past year that the UN saved the Congo from Communism. The UN did no such thing. The Congo was saved by the courageous action of two men, President Tshombe of Katanga, and Colonel Mobutu. As Colonel Mobutu —now General Mobutu—told me personally when I was in the Congo last November, the UN, under Rajeshwar Dayal, did everything in its power to undercut his position and to impede his operations against Lumumba and the Lumumbaists.

These are facts.

Recognizing Tshombe as an archenemy, Lumumba attempted to invade Katanga in the month of August. He suffered a disastrous and humiliating defeat, which weakened his hold on the government and facilitated his overthrow.

Lumumba's Legacy

In mid-September 1960, Colonel Mobutu overthrew the government of Lumumba, ordered the Communist embassies and technicians out of the Congo, and set up the so-called College of High Commissioners, consisting of university graduates, to administer the country on an interim basis.

But the damage wrought by Lumumba before he was overthrown was so great that, even given the most favorable developments, it will take years and conceivably decades for the Congo to recover. The fabric of social order in a primitive country like the Congo, once it is shattered, is about as difficult to put together again as Humpty Dumpty's fragile shell.

When I was in the Congo last No-

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vember, I was told that the Congolese National Army had remained in a state of chronic mutiny and banditry ever since the uprising of July 6, 1960. There are possibly several thousand soldiers in the army who may be considered reasonably disciplined. The rest of the 25,000 men, while receiving their pay, are terrorizing the populace and defying every effort to bring them under control. To my mind, there has probably never been a more preposterous situation. On the one hand, the American taxpayer is being called upon to subsidize an army of bandits and mutineers whose GIs get paid at the fantastic rate of more than $180 per month, compared with $85 per month for the American GI. On the other hand, the American taxpayer is being called upon to pay the lion's share of the bill for a UN army whose prime function, in the Congo north of Katanga, has been to defend the Congolese people against their own army. It is high time that an end was called to this nonsense.

When Ambassador Clare H. Timberlake arrived in the Congo in early July, 1960, it was immediately apparent to him that the restoration of discipline in the Congolese Army took precedence over everything else, and he made repeated representations to this effect. The UN might have brought the situation under control when it first came into the Congo had it acted resolutely and immediately to disarm the mutineers, disband the worst units, and restore order in the others. But the UN could not make up its mind that it had the authority to take such action; and, under the regime of Rajeshwar Dayal, who became UN director for the Congo on August 20, 1960, the UN seemed to be far more interested in supporting Lumumba and undermining Mobutu than it was in restoring discipline in the Congo Army.

The result was that nothing was done.

In any country which has only recently emerged from the jungle, the maintenance of order is the beginning of everything. In the absence of order and effective government, the once-rich Belgian Congo has become an economic wasteland. The production of staple crops like cotton and rice has fallen to one-third and one-fourth of pre-independence levels. In the city of Léopoldville almost half the labor force is out of work. Government revenues are not being collected. Even with the massive subsidies from the UN, from Belgium, and from the United States, the Congo Government stands on the brink of insolvency and breakdown.

For much of this mess in the Congo, Patrice Lumumba and his racist and Muscovite cohorts are to blame. But frankness demands that at least a portion of the blame be assessed against the ineptness of a UN policy that has made the forced submission of Katanga its prime objective rather than the restoration of order in the rest of the Congo.

The overthrow of Lumumba encouraged the Congolese leaders, in Katanga and Kasai, as well as in Léopoldville, to think again in terms of national unity. They were further encouraged to think of unity because of the threat posed by Antoine Gizenga's rival government, which had been established in Stanleyville in mid-November with Soviet-bloc support, and because of their grave dissatisfaction with UN policy under Dayal.

On March 6, 1961, on the prime initiative of President Tshombe, a

conference of Congolese leaders convened at Tananarive, the capital of Madagascar, or Malagasy, as it is now known. Only Gizenga, among the top-ranking leaders, was absent. The conference terminated in an agreement—the so-called Tananarive Agreement—proposing a loose confederation of states, under the presidency of Mr. Kasavubu. The Tananarive Agreement had unique possibilities precisely because it was achieved voluntarily, and on the basis of Congolese initiative. I believe that had we taken the Tananarive Agreement as a starting point, and had we used our influence in a friendly way to urge tightening up where we felt it needed tightening up, Tananarive might have led to a viable and enduring arrangement.

Perverted Intent

Tananarive was bitterly attacked by the Afro-Asian extremists and by the Communists. They attacked with particular virulence Tananarive's proposal to bypass or ignore the Lumumbaist-dominated Parliament. But I have reason to believe that there were in our Department of State those who looked upon Tananarive with an open mind, who felt that we should accept it as a point of departure, rather than reject it out of hand.

That was a period of bustling and mysterious activity on the question of the Congo. The Congolese Government had publicly and repeatedly demanded the recall of Dayal as chief United Nations representative. On April 4, 1961, for example, the *New York Times* reported:

> Last Tuesday, Mario Cardoso, Congolese representative at the United Nations, charged that a solution of the Congo problem had been prevented by what he termed the refusal of Mr. Dayal to consult with officials of President Kasavubu's regime.

It was no secret, either, that the relations between Ambassador Timberlake and Rajeshwar Dayal had been embittered from the beginning. Ambassador Timberlake is a man who believes profoundly in the United Nations, and he was one of the first to urge that the UN be brought into the Congo. But he felt that the UN, in many respects, had failed to perform its essential functions, and that Dayal had perverted the intent of the UN's intervention in supporting Lumumba and undercutting Mobutu.

The public record indicates that Prime Minister Nehru and his foreign policy adviser, Krishna Menon, bitterly resisted the demands that Dayal be recalled. In dealing with this matter, the *New York Times* said in the same article of April 4, 1961:

> Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru warned today that activities to oust Rajeshwar Dayal, the Indian who heads the United Nations mission in the Congo, could have "some effect on the maintenance of our forces there."

On April 24, shortly after Prime

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Minister Nehru made the statements I have quoted—and I ask that this sequence be carefully noted—the Congolese political leaders convened at Coquilhatville, for the purpose of pursuing the discussions initiated at Tananarive in March.

What had happened in the interim period, I of course do not know. But it is clear that President Kasavubu, Foreign Minister Bomboko, and the other Léopoldville conferees had, for some reason, decided that the loose confederation to which they had agreed at Tananarive was no longer adequate. In addition, they had decided in favor of reconvening the Lumumbaist - dominated Parliament, which the Tananarive agreement had proposed to bypass. President Tshombe was imprisoned for six weeks, until he accepted the terms of a new agreement, calling for a more centralized form of government and for the reconvening of Parliament.

On May 13, President Kasavubu announced that Parliament would be reconvened in July. So Nehru's basic demand had then been met.

On May 25, Rajeshwar Dayal's resignation as UN Congo representative was announced by the UN.

In the June 5, 1961, issue, *Newsweek's* "Periscope," reporting on the resignation of Dayal, stated that Dayal's chief critics, United States Ambassador Timberlake and British Ambassador Ian Scott, would be recalled within several weeks, as a sequel to Nehru's acceptance of Dayal's resignation.

The Turning Point

What happened then? In early June, without any explanation other than the questionable explanation that he needed a rest, Ambassador Timberlake was recalled. His recall, in my opinion, marked the turning point in our Congo policy. It marked a victory for officials and advisers in the Department of State who attach transcendent importance in the conduct of our foreign policy to the task to pleasing Nehru. Since Nehru believes in coalition governments with pro-Communist elements in Laos, the Congo, and other points, these advisers apparently also believe in the viability of such governments.

The recall of Timberlake raises many questions.

Here was an outstanding State Department officer, with a record of more than thirty years of service in many countries, an Ambassador who was worshipped by his staff and who commanded the admiration and affection of every American correspondent in the Congo, an Ambassador who had not hesitated to stand up to the UN representative when he felt that this representative was violating the intent of the UN or failing to carry out this intent. After spending eleven months in the Congo, he had mastered the incredible intricacies of its politics, and had reached the point of maximum utility. And yet, for some mysterious reason it was decided to recall this Ambassador without any explanation—and to recall him so hurriedly that no replacement was available to take over at the point of his recall. Ambassador Gullion, who replaced Ambassador Timberlake, did not arrive in the Congo until early September, three months after Timberlake's departure.

Ambassador Timberlake's unceremonious recall was all the more perplexing because it coincided with one of the most critical periods in the history of the Congo. At the Coquilhatville Conference it had been decided that the Congolese Parliament would be reconvened at the University of Louvanium in Léopoldville toward the end of July. To this Parliament, with its heavily Lumumbaist majority, was to be entrusted the task of electing the future government of the Congo.

There was a serious danger that the Louvanium Conference might result in the election of a government headed by Gizenga or some other pro-Communist. It was obviously in our interests to use our influence—with propriety, but nevertheless with energy—to help assure the election of a middle-of-the-road government. But, during this entire critical period our Embassy remained without an Ambassador.

The State Department is a complex organization, and I do not pretend to know who in the Department was responsible for Ambassador Timberlake's recall. But from the sequence of events, it would almost appear that whoever were responsible were so determined to get Ambassador Timberlake out of the country before the Louvanium Conference that they were untroubled over the prospect of leaving the Embassy without an Ambassador.

As my final observation on the Timberlake matter, I find it disturbing that this senior and respected officer, upon his recall from the Congo, was assigned to an obscure position as State Department representative to the Air University at Maxwell Air Force Base, Montgomery, Ala.

Coincidence?

Perhaps it was all a matter of coincidence. Perhaps it was also a matter of coincidence that Mr. Jerome Lavallee, the UN adviser in the State Department's Office of Central African Affairs, who had originally been assigned the task of maintaining friendly relations with the Katanga representative in this country, was transferred to the Commerce Department.

Perhaps it is also a matter of coincidence that within the past few days, Mr. Lewis Hoffacker, the American Consul in Elisabethville, has been transferred to another post. Mr. Hoffacker had performed the incredible diplomatic feat of maintaining a friendly relationship with Tshombe, while faithfully representing a State Department policy which Tshombe felt opposed him at every point. Indeed, at the present time, Hoffacker is probably the only member of the American Foreign Service who commands Tshombe's personal respect and for whom he has feelings of friendship.

I am constrained to ask whether this is the reason why this outstanding consular officer, after less than ten months in Elisabethville, has been transferred to another post?

As I see it, the positions of the interested parties in the period preceding the Louvanium Conference, were approximately as follows:

The Soviets were aiming for a Moscow-oriented government under Gizenga as Prime Minister, as their first choice. As a second choice, they were willing to consider a coalition in which the pro-Soviet and neutralist elements were properly represented.

Nehru and the Afro-Asian extremists were aiming for an Adoula-Gizenga coalition—and they might even have been willing to go along with a Gizenga-Adoula coalition, that is, a

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coalition with Gizenga in the number-one spot, had such a thing come into being. The one variant all the Afro-Asian extremists would have found completely unacceptable was a moderate pro-Western coalition centered around the personalities of Adoula and Tshombe.

Coalition Combinations

The UN representatives, whose position and philosophy require that they attempt to satisfy all sides—the Communist bloc, the Afro-Asians, and the West—favored the creation of an across-the-board coalition containing pro-Communist elements, neutralists, moderates, conservatives, and some pro-Western elements. In short, they favored an Adoula-Gizenga coalition, and in this sense their policy ran parallel to that of Nehru and the Afro-Asian extremists.

The position of the State Department was somewhat more complicated. An Adoula-Gizenga coalition was acceptable to it, although I know there were members of the Department who had grave reservations about the viability of such a coalition. On the other hand, a government with Gizenga in the No. 1 position was completely unacceptable; if it appeared that the only choice was between a Gizenga government and an Adoula-Tshombe coalition, then despite the sensitivities of the Nehru bloc, the preference of everyone in the Department was clearly for the latter variant.

At this point, we come to another part of the untold story of the Congo.

The fact is that, for several days' time, when there appeared to be a serious possibility that Gizenga would emerge the victor at the Louvanium Conference, the State Department seemed to be veering in the direction of an Adoula-Tshombe government. It made strenuous efforts to persuade President Tshombe to send his parliamentarians to Louvanium and it even asked Mr. Michel Struelens, director of the Katanga Information Service in New York, to leave for the Congo on several hours' notice in an effort to effect an agreement with President Tshombe.

On July 28, 1961, Mr. Struelens visited the Department of State in the company of Jean-Marie Pwetto, Vice President of the Katanga Parliament, Mr. Henri Kambolo, President of the Konakat Party, and Mr. Thomas Tshombe, brother of the President. He and his party were received by Mr. Vance, director of the Central African desk, and Mr. Jerome Lavallee, United Nations adviser to the Office of Central African Affairs, who told them that it was extremely important to have the Katanga parliamentarians go to Léopoldville in order to prevent a Gizenga majority.

Mr. Vance suggested that Struelens together with his three Katangan visitors, try to work out the text of an agreement between the Department of State and President Tshombe that would make possible the immediate dispatch of Katanga parliamentarians to Léopoldville.

The text of an agreement was worked out and sent upstairs to a

higher office, where it received approval. Whereupon, using Mr. Lavallee's telephone, Mr. Struelens dictated the proposed agreement to his secretary in New York for immediate transmission to President Tshombe via telex.

On the morning of July 31, Mr. Struelens received a call from Mr. Lavallee. Mr. Lavallee told him that the State Department had not yet received a reply to the telex of July 28, and that time was running out. He asked Mr. Struelens whether he could leave that afternoon for the Congo in an effort to persuade President Tshombe to accept the agreement and to dispatch his parliamentarians to the Louvanium Conference.

Mr. Struelens agreed to go, and he left that afternoon by Air France. Stopping at Brazzaville, capital of the former French Congo, Mr. Struelens had a meeting with Mr. Wilton W. Blancke, the American Ambassador, and with Mr. Robert Eisenberg, deputy director of the Office of Central African Affairs, who happened to be in Brazzaville at the time. That afternoon, Mr. Struelens left Brazzaville in the company of Mr. Eisenberg and flew directly to Elisabethville, the capital of Katanga. On August 3, President Tshombe accepted the proposed agreement without reservation. But that afternoon the radio brought the news that the Louvanium Conference had elected a government with Cyrille Adoula as Prime Minister and Antoine Gizenga as Vice Premier.

President Tshombe has since charged that this coalition was a product of a desperate effort by the UN to head off the prospect of an Adoula-Tshombe coalition. I believe there is something to this charge, since the UN Secretariat could not help but be sensitive to the fact that an Adoula-Tshombe coalition would have been bitterly opposed not only by the Communist nations, but by Nehru and Sukarno and other Afro-Asian leaders.

When Mr. Struelens returned to the United States, he was thanked by the State Department for the job he had done. According to Mr. Struelens, however, the State Department officials now took the stand that Tshombe would have to bow to the accomplished fact of the Adoula-Gizenga government, and that if he did not bow, force would have to be used against him.

It would appear that the State Department performed this drastic about-turn because it felt that it no longer needed Tshombe to offset the threat of a Gizenga takeover in Léopoldville. An Adoula-Gizenga coalition was acceptable to us. It was highly acceptable to Nehru and the Afro-Asians. It was highly acceptable to Moscow. Everyone was happy.

There is still a tendency in official circles to defend the Louvanium Conference as a great triumph for American policy. It was no such thing. On the contrary, if it was a triumph for anyone, it was a triumph for Nehru and Krishna Menon and the anti-Western neutralists. And the Com-

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munist press for the period indicates that the Communists at least regarded it as a step in the right direction.

It was not a triumph for the Free World when Adoula and Gizenga traveled together to the Belgrade Conference and voted for all of the malicious anti-Western resolutions adopted by the conference.

It was not a victory for the Free World when, just before the September action in Katanga, the Adoula government appointed Egide Bochely-Davidson, one of the most notorious pro-Communists in the Congo, as Administrator for Katanga. Let me state at this point, that while there are some politicians in the Congo about whose political views doubt exists, I have yet to meet a single person who will challenge the statement that Bochely-Davidson is one of the most confirmed and dangerous leftists in the Congo. Had the September military action succeeded in overthrowing the government of President Tshombe, and had Bochely-Davidson, backed by UN bayonets, been installed in power as Administrator for Katanga, the great mineral wealth of Katanga might today be a Soviet asset.

The September Action

Now we come to another untold portion of the Congo story—the true story of the September military action. The United Nations and the Department of State at the time defended the military action against the Government of Katanga in September as a matter of principle, necessity, and conformity with the UN resolution of February 21, 1961, which called for the removal of mercenaries and foreign advisers from Katanga. But there is now conclusive evidence that the September action was not ordered by UN headquarters and was, in fact, repudiated by Dag Hammarskjold.

The so-called September action was preceded on the early morning of August 28 by a surprise action directed against the five hundred white officers and NCO's then openly serving with the Katangese armed forces. As a result of this operation, which was officially known as "Operation Decapitation," the majority of the non-Katangese military personnel was apprehended and deported.

How the September action came about has been described with amazing frankness by Dr. Conor Cruise O'Brien, at the time chief UN representative in Katanga, in two articles written for the *London Sunday-Observer* in December 1961, subsequent to his separation from the UN. I would like to quote several paragraphs from Dr. O'Brien's account:

> On September 10, Mr. Mahmoud Khiari and Mr. Vladimir Fabry arrived in Elisabethville with instructions for General Raja, commander of UN forces in Katanga, and for myself. Mr. Khiari, a Tunisian, was nominally head of the UN civilian operations in the Congo, but Dr. Linner had entrusted, or relinquished, to him great authority in the political field in which he had shown enormous ability. He was mainly responsible for the successful meeting of the Congolese Parliament, for the Adoula-Gizenga rapprochement, and for the emergence of a well-balanced Central Government.
>
> Mr. Khiari gave us our instructions in the drawing room of Les Roches, my residence in Elisabethville. Those present at the main meeting at which the instructions were given included, as well as General Raja and myself, and Mr. Khiari and Mr. Fabry, Col. Jonas Waern, the Swedish officer commanding South Katanga; Col. Bjorn Egge, the Norwegian intelligence officer; and my deputy, Michel Tombelaine.
>
> The instructions were as follows: to take over the post office, the radio studio and the transmitter; to raid the Sureté and Ministry of Information offices; to arrest any European official found there, and seize their files; and to arrest Godefroid Munongo, the Minister of the Interior; Jean-Baptiste Kibwe, Vice President and Minister of Finance, and Evariste Kimba, so-called Foreign Minister. Tshombe also was to be arrested, if absolutely necessary. Mr. Fabry, who was then legal adviser to the ONUC at Léopoldville, and who was to die in the crash at Ndola, produced from his briefcase *mandats d'amener*—roughly equivalent to warrants for arrest—for Tshombe, Munongo, and the others. These warrants bore the seal of the Central Government.
>
> When I went to Léopoldville, several weeks after the close of hostilities, I found to my bewilderment that neither General McKeown nor Mr. Linner knew of the instructions I had received. In New York I found that neither Dr. Bunche nor General Rikhye—the military adviser—knew about them either. Dr. Bunche believes that Mr. Hammarskjold did not know about them at all.

What emerges from all of this is that the military action of the UN in Katanga in September 1961 was the product of neither principle nor necessity; it was the product, rather, of incredible recklessness or irresponsibility or worse.

The September roar inflamed passions on every side and probably made the December action inevitable.

Having fought this action to a standstill, and having acheived an agreement which was widely interpreted as a victory over the UN, the government of Katanga was probably less disposed to compromise than it had been previously. And the voices of the outright secessionists became louder.

Clamor in the UN

The UN forces in Katanga, having been humiliated in the first round of battle, itched for a second go, to reestablish their prestige and authority.

The Léopoldville government and the Nehru-Nkrumah faction in the UN, having seen the UN forces depart from Hammarskjold's assurance that they would not be used to settle internal conflicts, began to clamor for more military action against Katanga.

In the Congo, more than one American commentator has made the observation that the United States was footing the bill for the operation but that UN policy, in effect, was being determined by Nehru. To be more precise, it was being determined by Nehru's guiding genius in the field of foreign affairs, Mr. Krishna Menon, who has, in my opinion, justly come to be regarded as the personification of crypto-Communism.

Certainly Nehru has enjoyed tremendous leverage in the Congo situation by virtue of the fact that India has supplied the bulk of the troops for the operation.

The Security Council resolution of November 24, which, if indirectly, led to the December fighting, had originally been opposed by Ambassador Stevenson because it was directed exclusively against Katanga and said nothing about the problem of Gizenga and Stanleyville or of secessionism elsewhere in the Congo, Ambassador Stevenson, indeed, endeavored to amend the resolution so that it would be directed equally against all secessionist activity in the Congo. But

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when this amendment was vetoed by the Soviets, Ambassador Stevenson, after asking for a recess, returned to the Security Council and voted for the original Afro-Asian resolution which he had previously described as unsatisfactory. According to press accounts, he explained his actions with the words that he could not send Bomboko home empty-handed.

This, incidentally, is a prime example of what I meant when I spoke of submitting passively to the will of the Afro-Asian bloc in the UN rather than fighting militantly for our own position.

The December fighting did not produce as many casualties as the military action of September. But there was far more destruction in terms of physical damage to private property, to hospitals and other public institutions, and to industrial and business establishments. The damage in Elisabethville was particularly heavy. On-the-spot observers agreed that the UN forces had in several cases shelled and strafed clearly marked hospitals and had been guilty of atrocities against individual residents, both white and Congolese.

In the protracted argument as to who was responsible for the December action, we lost sight of fundamentals and concerned ourselves with the effects rather than with causes. The fighting of last December erupted in part because of provocative actions by both sides, in part because of the Security Council resolution of November 24. But the single most important contributing factor was the presence in Katanga of a UN army of eight thousand men. This force was doing nothing to maintain public order. It was obviously in Katanga for purposes of political pressure.

Such a situation is bound to produce tensions and incidents. The one sure way to avoid incidents and to avoid further bloodshed would be to eliminate the source of the tensions; to reduce the UN units in Katanga to the point where they no longer can be regarded as an army of occupation.

The December action resulted in the Kitona Agreement of December 21 in which President Tshombe accepted the application of the so-called *loi fondamentale* of May 1960; recognized President Kasavubu as chief of state; recognized the indivisible unity of the Republic of the Congo; recognized the authority of the Central Government over all of the Republic; and agreed to place the Katanga gendarmerie under the authority of the President of the Republic.

Speaking about the Kitona Agreement at the time, I warned that if this agreement were interpreted as a document of unconditional surrender, intended to lead, step by step, to the total destruction of those who had signed under duress, then the consequences would be disastrous.

I said that such an unconditional surrender could only be enforced if we were prepared to keep a UN army of occupation in Katanga for a period of decades. Since this is clearly impossible, we had no alternative, as I saw it, but to take Kitona as a starting point, and, using all our powers of suasion with both sides, strive for a formula for the unification of the Congo that reflected a genuine mutuality of interests.

What was called for, in short, was a supreme effort at conciliation, by

the United States, by the other Western powers, and by the United Nations. But during the period in question there has not been a single concrete manifestation of friendliness toward Tshombe by higher officials in the Department of State. Instead, Tshombe has been the target of abuse and threats and ridicule, and of actions he could only interpret as unfriendly. Our relations with Tshombe over the past year seemed to be governed by an unwritten rule that no ranking American official was to visit him or have personal contact with him.

Ambassador Gullion whose prime task in the Congo is to effect a reconciliation of Tshombe with Adoula, has to this day never visited Elisabethville. His personal relations with President Tshombe are indeed so embittered, that I fear he lacks the personal leverage essential to a serious effort at conciliation. Assistant Secretary of State G. Mennen Williams, during the course of his two trips to the Congo, visited minor cities, such as Stanleyville and Coquilhatville—but he studiously avoided Elisabethville.

Attitude Toward Tshombe

When President Tshombe, on three separate occasions applied for a visa to visit the United States, he was on each occasion refused. The aloofness of the State Department to Tshombe by itself would be bad enough. But the situation has been further aggravated by repeated threats of UN military action against Katanga, and by U Thant's historic contribution to diplomacy in the Congo when he recently described the Katanga leaders as "clowns."

I say in all frankness that I have considered several of President Tshombe's remarks about the State Department and U.S. capitalism most regrettable. But who can blame Tshombe if he has sometimes lost his temper and said rash things? I would point out that Prime Minister Adoula has said rash things with far less provocation or no provocation at all. I would point out that Prime Minister Adoula voted for a lot of rash anti-Western statements at the Belgrade Conference, and that he made the wild charge that Western imperialists were somehow responsible for the death of Hammarskjold. I cannot accept a standard of judgment which forgives Adoula all his rash statements and rash actions, but holds Tshombe fully accountable, in perpetuity, for every intemperate statement he has made in moments of stress, and with considerable provocation. We are dealing with human beings, not with robots, and not with clowns.

During the first few months, the Adoula government, apparently speaking with our encouragement, insisted on nothing less than an absolute adherence to the *loi fondamentale,* as prescribed by the first clause of the Kitona Agreement. When Tshombe came to Léopoldville for his first round of discussions with Prime Minister Adoula in March of this year,

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one of Adoula's spokesmen told the press:

"If Tshombe is prepared to accept the *loi fondamentale*, there is nothing to discuss. If he is not prepared to accept it, there is nothing to discuss."

The *loi fondamentale* was drafted by the Belgian Government as a provisional constitution for the Congo, to remain in effect only until the Congolese Parliament had had an opportunity to adopt a constitution of its own. In this interim period it provided for a highly centralized form of government.

However, I know of no one who today believes in the possibility of a highly centralized government, at least in the early stages, for a sprawling, heterogeneous, loosely knit country such as the Congo. Centralization is something the Congo will have to grow into.

This, essentially, was the position taken by the UN Congo Conciliation Commission in its report of March 21, 1961, which specifically rejected the *loi fondamentale* as unsuitable for the Congo. And I believe the wisdom of this position is recognized by the State Department, by our allies, and by a great majority of the political leaders in the Congo.

Beyond the pointless insistence on the *loi fondamentale*, the attitude of Prime Minister Adoula and of the Léopoldville authorities during the first round of negotiations left much to be desired.

Impasse

I have received the impression that in the second round of negotiations which terminated on June 21, Prime Minister Adoula and his colleagues were more moderate and less insistent on the so-called *loi fondamentale*. I have also received the impression, from a distance, that on certain points President Tshombe's position seems to have hardened. All accounts are agreed that a kind of impasse seemed to have developed between the two leaders.

It is in the interests of Katanga, it is in the interests of the Congo as a whole, and it is in the interests of the entire Free World that a way be found to break the present impasse. I believe that it can be broken, because I believe that Tshombe and Adoula really do want to get together.

I would not be prepared to say that everyone around Tshombe desires unity. But from a day and a half of conversations with Tshombe, I am convinced that he is wise enough to realize that if the rest of the Congo ever went under, and if the Kremlin established operation bases in Léopoldville and Stanleyville, an independent Katanga could not long survive. He is wise enough and moderate enough in his views to realize that, ultimately, the fate of Katanga is bound up inextricably with the fate of the Congo.

To a far greater degree than is commonly realized, I believe that the present impasse is due to the ineptness and corruption of the Léopoldville government and its complete failure, even with the massive assistance it is receiving from the United States, from Belgium, and from the UN, to establish economic order.

The scale of economic, fiscal, and political chaos in the northern Congo is almost incredible, even by African standards. The railroads are not running in most of the Congo, two-thirds of the nation's trucks are reported idle for lack of spare parts, and many of the roads have become impassable. Exports have fallen off 75 per cent from pre-independence levels.

The outrageous demands of the political parties which compose the Léopoldville government have forced Prime Minister Adoula to maintain a vastly inflated civil service. Between them, the Congolese army and the civil service eat up 80 per cent of the annual budget. There have also been a whole series of rifts and crises within the government. But within recent weeks, Prime Minister Adoula has taken energetic steps to improve the situation and his government is now made up of 28 instead of 44 members.

In relating all these facts, I do not mean to imply that all is disorder in the Léopoldville Congo, while all is order and integrity in Katanga. The Katanga Government, like every new government, anywhere in the world—and I am afraid that these phenomena are not altogether confined to new governments—has its quota of ineptness and corruption. But as the scholarly Methodist missionary, the Reverend James Brouwer wrote to me last year:

"To be sure it is far from being a perfect government. But you are not going to get a better government in any newly independent African country for many years to come, and you may get far worse."

Reciprocal Tolerance

Knowing the facts I have here listed about Adoula, I still consider him one of the best of the available political elements in the Congo, and I favor supporting him and collaborating with him. I do not think it is too much to ask reciprocal tolerance toward Tshombe's side from Adoula's supporters in the State Department.

There is no easy way out in the Congo—and there may be no way out at all. But I feel that the history I have recorded here points to certain things that should not be done and indicates certain courses of action which may still be open to us.

We must not permit ourselves, out of impatience and frustration, to be maneuvered into another military action against Katanga. This we must avoid at all costs, because there is no course that could more certainly destroy the Congo.

I am convinced that there is no one in our State Department whose intentions *vis-à-vis* Tshombe parallel those of the Soviets. They do not wish to see Tshombe destroyed; at the worst, our own partisans of war in Katanga simply wish to cut Tshombe down a notch or two. The game they are playing, however, is an exceedingly risky one, because military actions, once they are initiated, cannot be controlled with precision. If they initiate another action, they may find that it goes much further than they have intended; they may find it winding up with Tshombe dead or supplanted by Katangese extremists. And if Tshombe were ever eliminated from the scene, I can assure you that we will find no substitute leader of comparable wisdom and moderation and understanding of world affairs.

We must choose between two alternatives: force and conciliation.

If we choose force, then let us have no illusions about the dangers or the cost. At the worst, the use of force to crush Katanga may very well destroy the Congo. At the best, it will require maintaining a UN army in Katanga for many years to come.

If we are not prepared to maintain

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a UN army of occupation in Katanga for the next decade or more, then we must turn toward conciliation as the only realistic alternative. There is no third alternative. Since I reject the policy of force as dangerous and futile, I believe that the UN operation in the Congo must be completely reoriented. We must abandon the disastrous negative diplomacy that has characterized our recent relations with Tshombe; and, while pressing our point of view, we must offer him our hand in friendship.

I believe that if we all concentrate our efforts and our assistance programs on the re-establishment of order in the Léopoldville Congo rather than on the military subjugation of Katanga, we will in the long run best be serving the ultimate cause of the unity of the Congo.

There are too many soldiers in the Congo—too many UN soldiers, too many soldiers of the National Congolese Army, too many Katangese soldiers. If we are to make conciliation and economic rehabilitation our chief objectives, it is essential that all three forces be substantially reduced.

I would point out that the eight-thousand-man UN army of occupation in Katanga alone is costing almost $70 million a year — a figure, incidentally, double the $40 million revenue which the Katanga Government receives from the Union Minière's operation. I believe that the UN forces in Katanga should be cut back to one-half of their present size, in return for comparable reductions in strength by the National Congolese Army and the Katanga armed forces.

In this first phase, the UN forces withdrawn from Katanga should be kept on a standby basis in the northern Congo while the least disciplined units of the National Congolese Army are in the process of being disarmed and disbanded.

In the second phase, when the task of disarming and disbanding these units has been completed and when a measure of order has been restored, I believe the UN forces should be drastically reduced in size with a view to a rapid phasing out of the entire United Nations military operation in the Congo.

As the military operation in the Congo is reduced in size, I would propose that, in concert with our NATO allies, we work out a program of economic assistance and development covering the whole of the Congo and designed, among other things, to promote a tighter economic integration of its sprawling territory which has become so necessary.

But, above all, in seeking a successful consummation of the Adoula-Tshombe negotiations, we must seek to substitute friendship for force as the essential instrument of persuasion. Who can blame Tshombe when he says:

"I cannot negotiate with a Ghurka knife on one side of my throat and a Malayan knife on the other."

The Congo also has many-sided implications for the conduct of our foreign policy. Here, within a single capsule, you can find three major phenomena that have plagued our foreign policy in recent years. First, there is the tendency to rely excessively on the UN. Second, there is the excessive deference to that fallen idol of liberalism, Jawaharlal Nehru, and his neutralist companions. Third, there is the tendency to believe that the conflict with Communism can be frozen, or that Communism can most effectively be resisted by setting up coalition governments with the Communists. It is not surprising that these three phenomena should coexist within the single capsule of the Congo, because these phenomena are organically interrelated; indeed, they constitute a kind of trinity of the philosophy of conciliation with the Communist world.

The Congo is of the greatest strategic significance to the Free World. Its position in the heart of Africa, and at the center of the band of political vulnerability to which I have preciously referred, makes it the key to the control of Africa. And if the Free World were to lose Africa, on top of its already very serious losses in Europe and Asia, the balance would be so heavily tipped against us that our very survival would be called into question.

THE WALL

(Continued from p. 134)

sistant, a former newspaper man who had untiringly tried to overcome the official military and diplomatic reluctance toward anti-Communist action. O'Donnell got his blue slip the morning after Clay left.

Berliners could choose between two explanations for Gen. Clay's departure. One version indicated he wished to return to his job as president of Continental Can. The other explanation given was that he felt he could serve Berlin better in this country than in Berlin itself. Most Berliners with whom I spoke were extremely sceptical about either alleged reason. While they did not know in detail the frustrations with which their hero had had to put up while in their city, they sensed that he had been badly frustrated. And they concluded that the toughness by which he—and they—had won the Battle of the Blockade over Communism was out of fashion in present-day Washington. Knowing the Communists as they do from unhappy experience, they fear that this new line will provoke new advances from the East which the West will not resist because to do so would be "too trivial" or "too provocative." No wonder they talk of surrender by the "salami technique."

When Berliners warn Americans against this course, they are likely to hear, first, that they themselves are suffering from "Berlin claustrophobia"—that they see the world only in the reflection of their relatively minor local problem; and second, that President Kennedy's calling back of the Reserves proved how serious his assurances of firmness in Berlin were. Their standard answer to that is that they have seen little evidence of any determination to *use* these troops, and General Clay's mission serves them as the case in point.

Yet the confidence of Berliners in the West is a prerequisite of their ability to remain firm themselves. It was Berlin morale as much as Allied aircraft which defeated the blockade. In the end, this morale may prove more decisive against new Soviet moves than the deployment of infantry divisions. But it will take more than public relations stunts to keep this morale high in the shadow of the Wall.

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Religious Symbols in Public Life

WILL HERBERG

Not since 1954, when the Supreme Court, in *Brown* v. *Board of Education,* in effect ordered the desegregation of public schools, has a decision of the high tribunal aroused such widespread and impassioned public reaction as the recent outlawing of the Regents Prayer in the State of New York. But, whereas *Brown* v. *Board of Education* divided the nation into hostile and opposing parties, largely regional, one applauding, the other denouncing the Supreme Court, the verdict in the *Engel* case has met with instant and violent disapproval on the part of the American people. The Conference of Governors, in session at the time, unanimously (with Governor Rockefeller abstaining) protested against it; with few exceptions the newspapers of the nation condemned it; in Congress, it evoked fervent denunciation and proposals for a constitutional amendment to annul it; every survey of public opinion has revealed the great majority of the American people bewildered and outraged by it. Even the hitherto almost solid front of official Jewish opinion has been broken; many rabbis have come out publicly against the Supreme Court ruling, and therefore also against the ultra-separationism that has for years been a kind of conditioned-reflex response of Jewish institutional spokesmen in matters of church and state.

Herberg

Strict Construction

It is not my purpose here to examine the constitutional doctrine involved in the three opinions in the *Engel* case; it is still too soon for that. It may be said, however, that if the decision is construed strictly, as it should be, its reach would seem to be rather limited: it simply outlaws *government*-composed, *government*-sponsored prayers in public schools.* Of course, the *opinions* of Justice Black and Justice Douglas go much further, but these opinions are essentially dicta, entitled to respectful consideration, but no more. (The case of Justice Douglas is especially odd, for was it not Justice Douglas who in the *Zorach* case, in 1952, assured us that "we are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being"? Now he seems to want to root out all religious symbols from public life.) As a matter of fact, the full effect of the *Engel* decision will not be known for some time, until it has come to be applied, or ignored, in varying situations; perhaps until the Supreme Court has had the opportunity to deal with other "separationist" cases that are now bound to arise.

What I should like to do at this time is rather to explore some of the reasons for the extraordinary public outcry against the Supreme Court decision and to try to assess the deeper significance of such formal symbols of religion as prayers in our public life. Both lines of inquiry seem to me to lead to important conclusions.

From the universal outcry against the Supreme Court decision, which in the public mind appears as a ban on prayer, an unsophisticated observer might conclude that the United States is populated with nearly 200 million devout believers, absorbed in their faith and determined to protect it come what may. We know that this is not the case. America is one of the most secularized nations in the world. But American secularism is, paradoxically enough, a *pro-religious* secularism. Religion is held by all, or almost all, *believers and non-believers alike,* to be a "very good thing" for the nation and the individual; belief in God and belief in religion are incorporated as top-priority articles in the American Creed. To the great mass of the American people, the Supreme Court decision in the *Engel* case appeared (perhaps rightly) as an attempt to banish God and religion from public life, and this was taken as a flagrant challenge to the American Way. The protest was instant, furious, and well-nigh unanimous, and has come alike from those who "personally" believe and those who do not; believers and non-believers alike resented the outrage done, not so much to religion, as to the American Way, to which both believers and non-believers are committed in so far as they are Americans. The mass of Americans are against the Supreme Court decision (as they understand it) because they feel it to be a gross violation of the American Way; and, in the long run, they will nullify it, one way or the other. Such is the curious religiousness of an essentially secularistic people; in our essentially secularistic way of life "belief in God and religion" is deeply embedded.

Symbolic Significance

Shifting our approach, we may ask the second question: Of what significance are such school prayers; or, more generally, of what significance are formal religious symbols ("under God," "In God we trust," public invocations of the Deity, etc.) where they appear in our public life? The man of deep religious concern is apt to make light of them as mere superficial routinization; or even to deplore them as the profane use of the sacred for ulterior purposes ("Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain . . ."). There is much truth in this view: American culture does tend, in perfect good conscience, to domesticate religion and use it for its own purposes—and against this a word of protest is always in place. But those who look askance at religious symbols in public life on religious grounds overlook a fundamental point. What is totalitarianism ultimately but a regime that sees itself as its own highest majesty, and refuses to recognize a majesty beyond itself? Totalitarianism is thus a thoroughly secularized system on which is built a thoroughly self-abso-

(Continued on p. 162)

* Justice Black: "We think that the constitutional prohibition against laws respecting an establishment of religion must at least mean that in this country it is no part of the business of government to compose official prayers for any group of the American people to recite as part of a religious program carried on by government."

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

The Mind and the Head at MSU

As regular readers of this page may just possibly have observed, now and again I cast an eye toward Michigan State University, East Lansing. I know something of the place, being an alumnus and having resigned from the Michigan State faculty in 1953, in protest against the deliberate lowering of academic standards. Also Michigan State today—once a good agricultural college, with some commendable associated schools—is a prime example of the damage done to the higher learning in America by the empire-building university president, bent upon quantity and positively hostile to quality. It is the perfect type of the phenomenon that has become known as "the waist-high university."

Kirk

President's Progress

The energumen at MSU is a gentleman who once was desk-clerk in the student union, married the president's daughter, was appointed secretary to the college's board of trustees, and in due course was invested with the hereditary majesty of the MSU presidency: Mr. John Hannah. Recently Mr. Hannah and his empire have been candidly criticized by all sorts of people, from leaders in the Michigan legislature to President Griswold of Yale and Dr. Robert M. Hutchins. Some have gone so far as to compare the Hannah administration with the now-dissolved regime of the unlamented "Curly" Byrd at the University of Maryland.

Apparently somewhat uneasy at such *lèse majesté*, not long ago Mr. Hannah (whose doctorate is honorary only) declared that these criticisms of his regime occurred only because he has been chairman of the Civil Rights Commission—under both Eisenhower and Kennedy. (Doubtless it will please Dr. Griswold and Dr. Hutchins to learn that their objections to the sort of doctorates conferred at MSU were motivated by their detestation of civil rights.) As a matter of fact, no critic has paid any attention to Mr. Hannah's Commission post—in which, anyway, he is a species of wooden Indian.

But the point which Mr. Hannah raises here is of some interest. Apparently he desires to be known as a champion of the rights of colored people: well and good. But how many Negroes are members of the faculty of MSU, which has the biggest undergraduate college in the nation? *Just one:* a very able professor of English, Dr. David Dickson. Dr. Dickson, a graduate of Bowdoin, has been a faculty member at MSU for more than a decade, and everyone agrees that he is very good indeed. Why has President Hannah never appointed another scholar of color? Does he want only a prize exhibit?

Also, Mr. Hannah has contrived to get himself into hot water by his arbitrary discharge of Mr. Charles Rogers, formerly of the Labor and Industrial Relations Center of MSU, because Mr. Rogers ventured to suggest that something might be said in favor of management. The senate of the State of Michigan has censured Mr. Hannah for this arrogance, through a special committee; and the Michigan legislature has cut off the appropriation for the propagandizing Labor and Industrial Relations Center. (The director of that Center, a Mr. Jack Stieber, a CIO zealot, wanted no less than two million dollars for the Center for the period 1961-1965!)

What with these and other instances of high-handedness, the Michigan press has grown less and less friendly toward Mr. Hannah. But he has enjoyed one triumph recently: bludgeoning the students' Conservative Club on the campus. One of the faculty sponsors has resigned, and the club's membership has diminished under constant assault from the *State News,* the campus paper that nominally belongs to the students but actually—like most other things at MSU—is directed from the administration building. Of course, Mr. Hannah and company are all in favor of complete freedom of expression—for people who agree supinely with them.

Heads-up Scholarship

Yet, please don't think that culture in East Lansing is only waist-high: some people there are interested in heads, too—at least in the school of physical education. If, gentle reader, you will turn to your library copy of *Dissertation Abstracts,* May 1961, you will find therein synopses of two brand-new doctoral dissertations completed beside the campus' Red Cedar River.

One is by a scholar named John Francis Alexander, upon whom MSU conferred a doctorate in 1960. The subject of his learned researches was this: *An Evaluation of Thirteen Brands of Football Helmets on the Basis of Certain Impact Measures.* You can buy this invaluable work, in Xerox, for $6.80. "The helmets were ranked according to the lower values for each evaluating measure at each velocity and position. Graphs depicted the mean responses of acceleration, deceleration, and rate of acceleration for all velocities and positions." Welcome, Dr. Alexander, to the company of the Schoolmen!

A worthy colleague of his is one Richard Carroll Nelson, also devoted to educational studies in football. He was awarded his MSU doctorate for a curiously similar contribution to the higher learning: *An Investigation of Various Measures Used in Football Helmet Evaluation.* "Thirty-nine football helmets were impacted by a pendulum striker at four velocities." Why, Dr. Nelson even went so far as to photograph the impacts with a Polaroid camera. Make way, Thomas Aquinas and Henry Adams!

Oh, there's something for every head at MSU—so long as one frets only about the *physical* impact.

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What Does George III Really Want?

"These are the times . . . ," wrote Tom Paine just as the door opened and the Adjutant walked in, blue pencil in hand . . .

VICTOR GOLD

"*The Crisis*!" bellowed the Adjutant. "What are you trying to do, Paine—escalate tensions?"

"We can always change the title," snapped Paine. "But with fighting going on, I thought—"

"Fighting is one thing," said the Adjutant. "Escalating tensions is something else again. Don't you know we've invited Howe's brother-in-law over for luncheon tomorrow? One look at this—"

"You don't have to plaster it around camp," replied Paine. "Why not just read it to the troops?"

"Political indoctrination? Now I know what you're trying to do—get me transferred!"

"All right," said Paine peevishly. "We'll change it. How about *The Dilemma*?"

"Better," nodded the Adjutant, his quill working rapidly across the parchment. "Much better. Now, what about this inflammatory beginning: 'These are the times that try men's souls'?"

"Inflammatory?"

"Exacerbating," replied the Adjutant. "All it takes nowadays is one wrong word, Paine. One alarmist in a sensitive spot—like that damned superpatriot Revere."

" 'Patience'," said Paine. " 'These are the times that try men's patience.' "

"Excellent," said the Adjutant. "Patience is exactly what's needed in this complex world. Patience and luncheons. There aren't any simple solutions anymore, Paine. No 100 per cent American answers. When are you going to grow up—this is the eighteenth century, man!—"

"I write 'em," muttered Paine, "like I sees 'em."

"And I've been reading up on your kind," said the Adjutant, rapping the drumhead for emphasis. "Kookie old ladies sitting around sewing flags. Town hall vigilantes. You're a frustrated extremist, Paine. A dangerous oversimplifier. A neat packager of quick panaceas. In short, a crackpot."

"It's the spirit of '76," replied Paine.

"Which seventy-six?" rasped the Adjutant. "*Ten* seventy-six? Take this next phrase: 'The summer soldier and the sunshine patriot will shrink from the service of his country.' "

"You know the crowd I mean," said Paine. "The ones who come to Philadelphia with the placards: *I'd Rather Be Tory Than Gory.*"

"They don't worry me, Paine," replied the Adjutant. "But you do. You're accusing fellow Americans of cold-weather treason. That's irresponsible. It's divisive."

"Then strike it!" exclaimed Paine, waving an ink-stained hand. "But the next line stays: 'Tyranny, like hell, is not easily conquered.' "

"Oh, that I like," the Adjutant said. "At least, most of it. All except the first and last words."

"What's wrong with 'Tyranny'?" asked Paine.

"Look, our three-man fife-drum-and-marching team is limping over to Howe's camp next week for a luncheon and guest performance," said the Adjutant. "This is no time to maximize mere ideological differences."

"Well, what's wrong with 'conquered'?" asked Paine.

"Are you serious?" replied the Adjutant. "I mean, you really don't know?"

"I'm thinking," said Paine.

"Don't just think," said the Adjutant. "*Think complex!* Put yourself in George III's shoes. Parliament on one side, the French on the other. Now, what does George III really want?"

"Taxation!" blurted Paine. "And no representation!"

"Don't be naive," replied the Adjutant. "He may tell his family that. He may tell his court that. He may even tell us that. But what he really wants is relaxed tensions."

"I've never looked at it that way before," said Paine, thoughtfully stroking his stubbled chin. "Parliament on one side, the French on the other. Suppose he doesn't make it?"

"Perish the thought!" shuddered the Adjutant. "We might get a *hard-line* Hanover in there."

"And here I compared the man to 'a common murderer, a highwayman, or a house-breaker—' "

"Precisely my point," said the Adjutant. "You're beginning to understand now, Paine. The whole complex, insoluble mess—." But Paine wasn't listening. Knapsack slung over his shoulder, quill perched on his ear, he had headed through the snow, across the marching grounds and past the sentry post.

"Where are you going, Paine?" shouted the Adjutant. "To rewrite your tract?"

"Better than that," Paine called back. "To find a redcoat to take to lunch."

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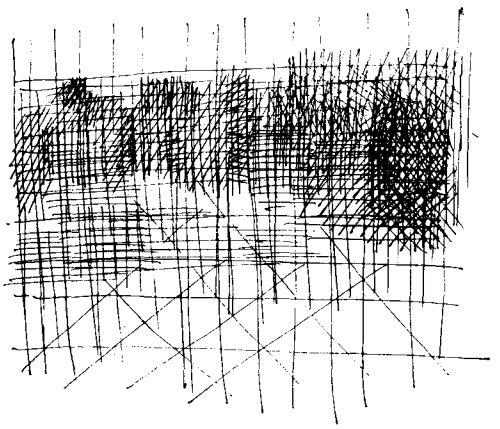
Three Poems

JACK MATTHEWS

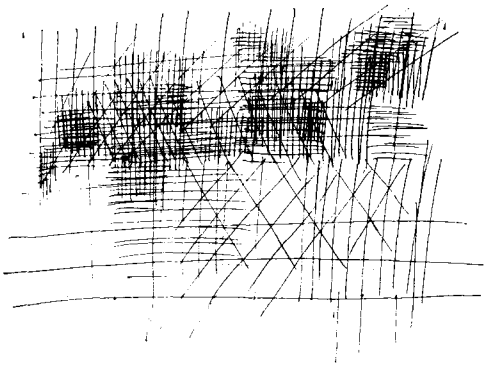
An Almanac for Evening

The wonder is that the thoughts of men
do not flap and stutter from their heads
each evening when the sun sets. What memory
of dawn saves a man's hope and keeps the heart
spilling out its old arterial chant?
What memory is convincing in the red shadow
of that palsied light about to pale in the cinders
of the west? Our grandfathers stiffened
and fell from the sky and arose as fathers
towering like trees above our wobbly heads
and they crash one by one in the forests
of evening and we arise and the pulse of earth
beats in her old, slow meter and father
and sun pass through us like thoughts
in the mind of a girl, as she throws jacks
like stars on the sidewalk and bounces a ball
in orbital perfection from her careful hand.



Backsight

Once glimpsing those quivering wires
which support the narrow fronts
of all stores—all commerce in this fast
and worried city—one can see
that what it's all about is not half worth
belief. The charade of edifices leaning
into our attention does not beguile
as once it did. All the ways of man
might clamour for our concern
and yet one cannot forget all
that trembling maze of guys, of props
behind buildings which flash
in the artificial light. See the windows—
scattered pools of rain in a vacant field.

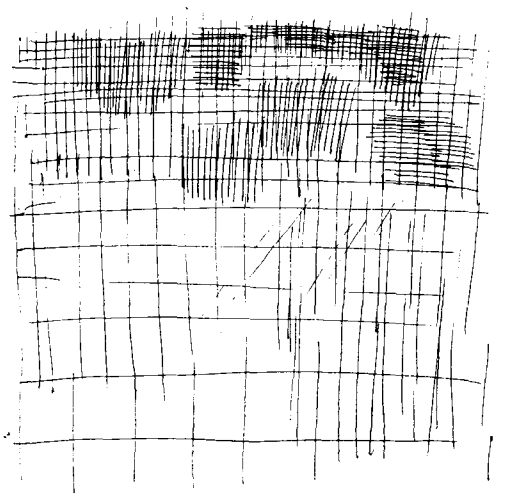


The Follower

I once plowed the leather turf of winter—
marched manly behind a horse bigger
than my father's shadow, stumbled
in the half-moon ditches of his hooves
and gazed in wonder at the swath
his might carved in an iron sod.

This great plangency of beast
has warped my world beyond adjustment.
Ever since, I've followed something
vast as weather, deep as birds,
which plods a way for me in time.

Sometimes I hear his presence loom in sleep
and I stumble to my hands and knees;
I grope again in an ancient boyhood fear,
and feel in the clay those hooved craters,
the size of moonshards, where he's gone before.



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The Critic's Not For Burning

HUGH KENNER

Mr. Empson, now a bearded *doyen* of literary appreciation, has behind him a prolonged youth as Playboy of the Western World. *Seven Types of Ambiguity,* disorderly, perversely ingenious, vastly suggestive, was spun off—the central third of it—in a couple of weeks by a Cambridge undergraduate beneath the astonished eye of I.A. Richards, and in the 32 years since it was published no one has really had the heart to remonstrate with its abounding inaccuracies of fact and quotation.

Since the book works by microscopic examination of small poetic specimens, one would expect erroneous data to vitiate it. In fact, Empson doesn't care whether he is examining the text or his own misremembering of the text, for the same reason Freud didn't care that there stood between him and the dream itself the patient's waking reconstruction of it. The reconstruction, Freud held, was simply a continuation of the process by which the dream itself had been generated. The misremembering, Empson seems to hold, is merely a continuation of the process by which the mind shapes and appropriates a poem it has read, a process for which the mere words are the barest initial hints.

It follows that Mr. Empson's four books about literature are really books about the mental processes of Mr. Empson; they impose themselves by sheer charm, a charm that has accomplished the wholesale seduction of week-end reviewers, who haven't the time to follow complex arguments. ("A living figure of legendary brilliance. As a critic he has almost every virtue."—*New York Times Book Review.*) No other books ostensibly technical are so suffused with personality, so remorselessly dependent on ease, agility, the quick smile, the disarming evasion.

Milton's God, by William Empson. New Directions, $5.00

But golden lads must tarnish; the world turns and the light fades; by the Cam, nod blown husks; arthritic fingers retire the deftest juggler; and even Mr. Empson (now domiciled in Sheffield) grows testy, if not downright cross. The Western world overwhelms him with a panic charm once dissimulated ("I did not say this in my earlier literary criticism because I thought it could be taken for granted, and that to fuss about it would do no good"), and now the black truth rises in his gorge, to spill over nearly 300 handsomely printed pages: "The Christian God the Father, the God of Tertullian, Augustine and Aquinas, is the wickedest thing yet invented by the black heart of man."

This is not an *obiter dictum* but the very theme of *Milton's God,* which culminates in a fifty-page diatribe headed "Christianity." Here, a leitmotif of the book, the author's concern about being burned alive, becomes positively obsessive; eight of his twelve references to this fantasy are strung through this single chapter. "I ought to let the Christians burn me alive rather than pretend to accept their evil belief, which if powerful enough will do grave public harm." For the value of *Paradise Lost* comes down to this: it "enlarges the experience of most readers in an important way; it is an impressive example of one of the more appalling things the human mind is liable to do."

The appalling thing—let there be no mistake—was not writing *Paradise Lost* but inventing the Christian religion. The former is simply the text out of which Mr. Empson expounds the enormities of the latter. If this means equating Milton's harsh celestial bureaucrat with "The Love that moves the sun and the other stars," or omitting all mention not only of Dante but of, say, St. Bernard or St. Anselm, these are not accommodations of the kind that have ever given him any trouble. Professor Douglas Bush has remarked that, as a student of Milton, Mr. Empson is "squarely abreast of the early nineteenth century." Indeed his Miltonic argument, like some of the Shakespearean arguments in *The Structure of Complex Words,* depends on treating Milton as a nineteenth-century novelist, careful with motivations and time-sequences.

To expect consistency of this order is to ignore what Milton's style everywhere blatantly affirms, that nothing it can handle, locally or in large, will be handled with real rigor; and to ignore, furthermore, all that has been written about that style in the twentieth century. Not that Mr. Empson really ignores T. S. Eliot's two Milton essays, but it is instructive to watch him evading them. Thus at one point we are told that "Mr. Eliot fell back on some theory of Mr. Ezra Pound that the words are 'only musical'," though Mr. Eliot didn't mention Pound in that connection. A page later we are told that in his later essay Eliot "still found Milton not to his personal taste, perhaps chiefly from being musical rather than imagist"; and ten lines after that, quite as though it had been Eliot and not Empson who introduced into this discussion the name of a 1914 literary movement, the issue is closed with a contemptuous dismissal, not of Eliot's argument, but of Imagism: "Imagism seems to me such nonsense that I cannot guess what may be decided by its rules."

Eliot's argument, however, must still be exorcised, for it has to do with precisely that order of consistency on the assumption of which Mr. Empson bases all his arguments. Eliot had said: "To complain, be-

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cause we first find the arch-fiend 'chain'd on the burning lake,' and in a minute or two see him making his way to the shore, is to expect a kind of consistency which the world to which Milton has introduced us does not require."

But Mr. Empson is not abashed: "Milton tells us at once that God deliberately released Satan from his chains." Alas, that won't end the matter; for "the first words of God in the poem, however, which come in Book III, imply that he didn't; and the only way to explain this later passage is to regard it as one of God's blood-curdling jokes." So Milton can be consistent after all, if you posit a God as nasty as Mr. Empson's argument requires. "Mr. Eliot" (he goes on) "would naturally not be inclined to suppose so, and this I think (to do him justice) was what had become fixed in his head, as a theological contradiction, though he only remembered it in terms of imagery."

Now the phrase to ponder is that parenthetical "to do him justice," which is, all things considered, positively breath-taking. It implies that Eliot ought to be spared embarrassment over a logical point, a contradiction in the text, just when it is precisely Eliot's argument that no contradiction in the text should surprise anyone. So indulgent a concession to the great man's muddles, so handsome a determination not to embarrass the most eminent poet-critic of the century (Christians get into these jams, and it is polite to help them save face, even when their deepest wish is to burn one alive), so brazen a filching of credit for one's restraint when one is all the while at work muddying the possibility of rational discourse: this is the Empsonian aplomb, if not the Empsonian dishonesty, in apotheosis. Only the coolest reader will notice that it is Empson's face that needs saving.

In general, however, he has no concern for his face. He is the period piece he always was, an anxious nineteenth-century liberal who got it into his head at an early age that what they told you in church was cramping, not to say nasty. Witness his version of the Christian Heaven, in which believers, "if they take the vaunted 'logic' of their system seriously . . . must sit beside God for all eternity and watch almost all the people they have ever loved on earth being tortured by God . . . and they must incessantly praise God for his mercy." Before we have time to wonder why nearly everyone will be damned, we are treated to a bit of psychologizing: "Consider the type of man who would like arriving in Heaven; still half afraid to let God see his cravings and half incredulous that God can share them ('By God, sir, it is a bit embarrassing, isn't it?'), and then settling down to hold kind God's hand for all eternity and watch old mother being ripped up so much more satisfyingly than he could ever have imagined."

This is Grand Guignol; it was devilish cool of Mr. Empson to invent it.

Random Notes

● Scoop: Farrar, Straus will bring out in the spring a book by T. S. Eliot on Francis Herbert Bradley, the philosopher (1846-1924). This is Eliot's Harvard doctoral thesis, *Experience and the Objects of Knowledge in the Philosophy of F. H. Bradley* (1916). It is the missing clue to Eliot's sensibility which Hugh Kenner followed up in his *The Invisible Poet* (1959), arousing Eliot's own curiosity about the influence of the thesis on the poetry, as Eliot says in his preface. He also says: "It is to my wife that I owe the suggestion that it should be published," and "I do not pretend to understand it."

● Movies: Edward Wagenknecht, the literary critic, has completed a book on the heroic age of the movies, *The Movies in the Age of Innocence* (to appear in October, University of Oklahoma Press). It studies both directors and actors (D. W. Griffith and Mary Pickford have a chapter each) and is generously illustrated. . . . *Variety* at one mis-stroke of the pen turned *Lawrence of Arabia* into the ultimate cast-of-millions epic. It lists as extras "600 cavalry, 500 members of the Camel Corps, 800 foot soldiers and 180 miles of the Royal Moroccan Army." Mules, we hope . . . Alain Resnais (*Hiroshima Mon Amour, Last Year at Marienbad*) has ordered his next script from Jean Cayrol. The film will be called *Muriel* and will analyze a deteriorating marriage.

● First Aid In Spelling: Dear *Time*: It's Admiral Sir Reginald Aylmer Ranfurly Plunkett-Ernle-Erle-Drax, not Admiral Sir Reginald Aylmer Ranfurly Plunkett-Earnle - Earle - Drax. Good try, though.

● Incidental: Alexander J. Morin, a publisher, has been pleased to object at a conference on scholarly publishing to the "astonishing proliferation of pompous editions of the works of the Founding Fathers of the United States.*** But to what purpose? Who needs these books?" He alludes to the Harvard John Adams, the Princeton Jefferson, the Columbia Hamilton—and we can only say: You got us, Mr. Morin. Who, indeed? The ideas are mildewed in those old books, the prose funny, and all that gas about the rights of free men, self-government, and such trash ought to be kept out of students' hands. K. Marx might lose a reader or two to John Adams, or someone might notice (and embarrass his professor in the classroom) that Jefferson had a more interesting mind than Lenin. And, before you know it, some nut of a publisher is liable to bring out the writings of Senator Benton or Randolph of Roanoke or Van Buren, and O my!

● Award: Doubleday and Co. have announced that the first winner of the Kenneth Roberts Memorial Award is Page Smith, Professor of History at the University of California at Los Angeles. The prize is $5,000 and goes to Prof. Smith for his two-volume biography of John Adams, to be published by Doubleday in January of 1963.

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And indeed Mr. Empson, whose mind is a bizarre country, really enjoys playing Satan, when he can get away with it, and likes hoping that he would indeed have the nerve to defy all these people who threaten to burn you alive.

His comment on Satan's famous soliloquy at the beginning of Book IV is unmatched in all Miltonic criticism. I quote it verbatim: "The idea of a soliloquy being observed [*i.e.*, by Uriel] has been found absurdly theatrical or literary, so I make bold to remark that it once happened to me. I had landed in Los Angeles on my way from China to England, and there is a park in that city which rises to a fairly bluff summit. I went to the top of it and screamed; this was 1939, so my feelings need not all be blamed on Los Angeles. After I had been screaming for a bit I found I was being shot at by boys with air-guns; this satisfied me in some way; I came down the hill, and took the train to San Francisco. The incident on Niphrates' top strikes me as a rather life-like thing to have happened to Satan."

One other quotation: "Like most Englishmen, I never know what Americans mean by a liberal; the story goes that the only way for an academic American to be quite safe from this smear, which would cost him his employment, is to give the secret police documentary proof that he has beaten one of his slaves to death with his own hands. 'Why, that settles it; that's American freedom; he *can't* be a liberal'; but nothing less than that is enough. We in England should feel grave sympathy for the predicament of our American brothers. . . ."

Quite so. We in America have no mind quite so fanciful to divert us—quite so slippery, quite so utterly uninformed, quite so dependent on the prompting of a set of quivering nerves, as Mr. Empson's. Or quite so old-maidish. British eccentricity, alas, has declined. In the heyday of Bentham and Babbage, and even as late as Ogden, it was masculine.

Who's Coming and Who's Going?

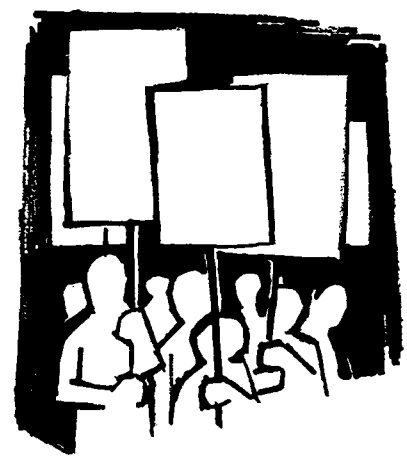
WILLMOORE KENDALL

PROFESSOR Clinton Rossiter's *Conservatism in America*, published between hard covers in 1955, will henceforth be available in a revised paperback edition that, professedly, takes cognizance of the "comings and goings on the stage of American conservatism" in the intervening seven years. The new volume, in view of the current popular interest in conservatism and conservative ideas, will predictably have a large sale, especially on college and university campuses—where one can even imagine its being used on occasion as a secondary textbook. The question whether Rossiter's enterprise is valid has, therefore, a kind of urgency that it did not have back in 1955, when the book was too expensive to get into many people's hands and when, because there was a great deal less at stake politically, the harm it was capable of doing was very considerably smaller.

Conservatism in America: The Thankless Persuasion (Rev. Ed.), by Clinton Rossiter. Vintage, $1.45; Knopf, $5.00

Well, let us be clear at the outset that the enterprise is invalid: a) because the 1955 version, whose major vices are preserved in the paperback, was invalid already; and b) because Rossiter's handling of those *recent* "comings and goings on the stage of American conservatism" is, apart from his excellent bibliography, even more ignorant or perverse (let us not try to say which) than his handling of the pre-1955 data. His book is, in either version, one that can only mislead most persons who read it, on most of the questions with which it deals.

Rossiter's strategy, in both versions, boils down to this: Set up a definition of "conservatism" (he distinguishes always between "conservatism," an American phenomenon, he says, and "Conservatism"—that is, Burkean Conservatism, of which he finds at most a smidgin in our politics) that reduces the differences between "conservatives" and "liberals" to mere differences in emphasis and mood. Conservatives and Liberals (so he at least professes to believe) substantially agree on what we in America are trying to accomplish—which we may identify, for NATIONAL REVIEW readers anyhow, as what the Liberals are trying to accomplish or, simply, what Rossiter himself is trying to acomplish. Treat any "conservative" idea or position that involves meaningful opposition to Liberal goals as, therefore, not properly "conservative" at all, that is, as "ultra-conservative" or "reactionary" or "standpattist" and, in consequence, wide of the real business of American politics, unrealistic, quixotic. Insist that the real question for Americans, the only question, is always, How soon, and by what means, do we carry out the Liberal program? Ignore any facts indicating that principled opposition to the Liberal program is a universally observable phenomenon of American life (let Rossiter have a sober look one day at the House of Representatives, or at most of our state legislatures)—and that what is really wide of American politics is the idea or position openly predicated on Liberal premises.



Go on and on, therefore, as if the "important issues" have already been politically decided for America; for instance: the issue of the open society versus the consensus society that comes down hard on opinions contrary to the consensus; the issue as to the future of the American Presidency, of which Rossiter is a shamefully slavish cultist; the issue as to whether the American university is to remain the property of its present positivist-relativist captors; the issue

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as to whether the United States is to contain or "compete with" Communism on the one hand, or set out to destroy it on the other; the issue as to the role of popular "will," as opposed to natural law, in determining the shape and tendency of American policy and legislation; the issue as to legally enforced desegregation of the Southern schools and, indeed, as to the future of the white Southerners in our national life; the issue as to "reapportionment" based on French-style political "equality"; the issue as to whether we are going to continue to enact "social reform" legislation in an age when the affluent society has rendered it unnecessary on the face of it; and, as a final example, the issue as to the future of the Supreme Court.

ROSSITER'S basic contentions about the "comings and goings on the stage of conservatism" during the past seven years, dictated as they are by the strategy just outlined, we may put briefly as follows: The major developments have been, so to speak, "literary"—that is, in the realm of "ideas"; the big one is a burgeoning literature (much of it, he thinks, of high quality) which has called into question, and subjected to relentless criticism, the soft-headed Liberalism of a dozen years ago, and; at the same time, deepened and freshened our knowledge of the principles upon which the American Republic was founded. That literature, whose authors occupy a spectrum reaching all the way from, say, Chodorov and Chamberlain to (if you please!) Adlai Stevenson and George F. Kennan, is a great "conservative" achievement, alike because a) it has already made, and will continue to make, American intellectual "history," and b) its effect has been, and will continue to be, that of "toughening" the Liberalism against which it is aimed. He welcomes and even applauds this literature, even the part of it that is "ultra-conservative"; one gathers that he would not even be sorry if it kept on burgeoning.

A lesser development is the "conservative revival" in American politics itself, but that, as we should expect, he sees as a matter of the rise to power of Dwight Eisenhower (whose name Rossiter links, impudently, to the names of Robert Taft and Herbert Hoover). Rossiter is, he confesses with disarming candor, disappointed in it, so that a tidy part of the new material in the new edition is given over to an exposition of what the "conservatism" that informs the "revival" must do in order to disappoint him less in the future.

Both developments, in Rossiter's treatment, are merely squid-ink with which to obscure the really major developments of the last years, which are of course the rise of NATIONAL REVIEW and its readership to, almost overnight, the status of a national movement; the resurgence of the Right—but what Rossiter would have to call "ultra-conservatism"—among American youth; the continuous stiffening of the anti-Liberal coalition in Congress; and—most important of all, perhaps, because a development in the realm of actual events—Liberalism's own entry into a phase where the bankruptcy of its basic public policies has become simply too obvious to escape notice. Of none of these developments does Rossiter have a word to say—nor, I might add, *could* he have without blowing his whole enterprise high as a kite. He writes about a political world that exists only in his own head.

Since Rossiter must know more about what is going on around him than he lets on, one is tempted to attribute his major misrepresentations to the twofold political purpose of discrediting the genuine American Right in the eyes of the uncommitted, and of helping feed that Right's own perpetual mood of defeatism. One is tempted, that is, to explain the book in terms of perversity, *not* ignorance. But that might be ungenerous, since the book is shot through and through with methodological confusions: as to the relation in politics between thought and verbiage; as to what *a* conservatism (any conservatism, in any country) *is*, to begin with; as to what a tradition is and how you find out in any given time and place what the tradition "holds" and does not "hold." Political purposes entirely apart, this must lead to comparable misrepresentations; so the suspicion that Rossiter's trouble is, after all, ignorance, will not down.

Tricky Evaluations

CURTIS CARROLL DAVIS

The Secret War: The Story of International Espionage since World War II, by Sanche de Gramont. Putnam, $5.95

The U-2 Affair, by David Wise and Thomas B. Ross. Random House, $4.95

AS MOST government analysts know, in the tedious process of winnowing useful intelligence from mounds of often unrelated information the trickiest step is that of evaluation. It is even trickier trying to evaluate books about the evaluators. The titles here under review are largely concerned with an appraisal of the merits and shortcomings not only of our own foreign espionage organization, the Central Intelligence Agency, but those of several other nations; so, when the authors indulge in what are demonstrably well-pondered judgments for praise or blame, one must bear in mind that none of them has, on the record, ever served time in "the intelligence community." In a way this alienation is their strongest point.

All three authors are young Americans of good education (Ross and de Gramont graduated from Yale, Wise from Columbia). All three are journalists for major papers in Paris and Washington. All three are tenderly objective, as befits outsiders attempting to assess arcane matters involving "important" people. Wise's and Ross' style is so controlled as to verge on neutralness; de Gramont, who has won a Pulitzer Prize, occasionally indulges a flair for phrases; both books conclude with editorializing passages; both are, in sum, estimable examples of what appears to be today's preferred reportorial approach.

Mr. de Gramont's volume is the more ambitious. Its subtitle, indeed, is overly so, since he does not discuss all international espionage but only that practiced by the U.S.A., USSR, Great Britain, and the Germanys. After "a look backward" to Henry L. Stimson's Department of State and the Okhrana of pre-revolutionary Russia, he advances to a comparison of today's KGB with our

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CIA and FBI. "The slow beast of the secret police setup slouches on through history impervious to political changes." From this slough the FBI emerges pretty well: there is an instructive roster of the number, and tenures, of the chiefs of the KGB *vis-à-vis* the Bureau. But the CIA is viewed as, in essence, little different from its Soviet counterfoil. Instead of remaining an intelligence evaluator, Mr. de Gramont maintains, it has erupted into a formulator of national policy and, what is equally heinous, a fomenter of domestic disturbance in other countries.

There follows a chapter on the National Security Agency. One of the most interesting sections of his book is Mr. de Gramont's analysis of the "security" aspects of homosexuality as exemplified in the case of the NSA defectors, Martin and Mitchell. The nuances of treason are discussed in the cases, among others, of Judith Coplon for the U.S.A., Burgess and MacLean for England, and Nikolai Khokhlov for Russia. On the way, there are enlightening comments upon such subjects as the East German penchant for abduction and poisoning (those perennial aides-de-camp to espionage); the tendency of Soviet Security to put lower-ranking foreign diplomatic personnel under surveillance; and the values, if any, of peacetime espionage.

It is convenient to have these and many other topics surveyed within the covers of one book, abetted by occasional reference footnotes and an excellent index. But an appreciable proportion of these topics has been surveyed before, separately and at length, by other writers. Mr. de Gramont's 35 pages on the U-2 affair have been superseded within less than a month of their appearance in print.

To perform that task the Messrs. Wise and Ross worked for a year, traveling 15,000 miles and interviewing everyone this side of the Curtain they could get their hands on, save Francis G. Powers himself. The U-2 is scrutinized from its cradle in the Lockheed plant at Burbank to its grave near Sverdlovsk. Its pilot is given an even more thorough treatment, with the upshot that for the first time a personality emerges from behind the headlines. Anyone figuring significantly in his career is introduced and characterized. Physical details descend to the color of the Pentagon memo listing the names of the project sponsors. The narrative method—contrasting scenes, flashback, reconstructed dialogue—has the immediacy of a television "special" and the chronological minuteness of a private investigator's report.

Not quite so harsh with the CIA as is de Gramont, the authors nevertheless believe that it may be a Frankenstein. As to the Administration, President Eisenhower fiddled with golf sticks while the operation was "burned." There are 28 sharp photographs, no notes or index. Considering the aroma of reticence that has gagged this business, *The U-2 Affair* is a minor triumph in the interpretation of recent history.

Fiction

Magic Realism in Prose

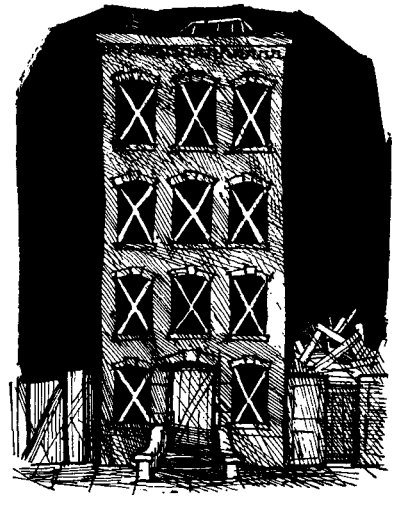
GUY DAVENPORT

Another Country, by James Baldwin. Dial, $5.95

Letting Go, by Philip Roth. Random House. $5.95

The Age of Happy Problems, by Herbert Gold. Dial, $4.95

There is among us a new realism in the art of the novel—so intimate of detail and so pathetic of impact that the critic feels like a trespasser saying anything at all. Once the unflinching novelist has intruded upon a tenement quarrel, an act of sodomy, or an abortion, and has reproduced these troubles photographically, sparing us nothing, the critic can report that these things have been done with such and such a technical perfection, laying bare once more the human heart; and his work is done. Or would be, except that he is still talking about illusion, about art, about words. A novel is a moral view of life; its angle of inspection is exclusive and obvious, and the story is a parable like any other. This point needs to be made so that we can appreciate the clarity, the high finish, and jolting fidelity to nature of Mr. Baldwin's and Mr. Roth's new novels, and of the novelist's notebook of Mr. Gold, which might easily belong to either Baldwin or Roth. I propose that we borrow a name from art criticism and call their work Magic Realism.



The name best fits another master of enameled prose and exact observation, John Updike. No movie could ever vie with *Rabbit, Run*. It would be burned for pornography, would lacerate even the toughest of eyes (Henri Georges Clouzot, who made *Diabolique* and *The Wages of Fear*, might shy from photographing a drunken mother trying, and failing, to fish a drowning baby from a bathtub), and it would probably be a dull movie unless the finest of directors and actors undertook it. The rules and decorum of Magic Realism demand total illusion and since illusion has had its day with culturally accepted subjects (Stephen Crane's battlefields, Steinbeck's work camps, Joyce's streets) we are not surprised to find these hyper-realists exploiting a visual and verbal diction hitherto restricted to certain unimportable, uncompromising Europeans: Jean Genet, for instance, whose influence on James Baldwin is evident.

Updike, Roth, Baldwin, and Gold have English and French counterparts. Their masters are Mann, James, Dostoevsky, Gide, Genet. They form an edge, a school. They have been brave enough to escape understatement; they do not decorate their

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prose; the impulse behind their parables is strong and patiently honest. Mr. Baldwin's capacity for understanding divergent types of people is enormous. Something like the Victorian ideal of gathering an entire world into a novel has returned, and the remote controlling genius of the Magic Realists may be, after all, Charles Dickens.

JAMES BALDWIN'S *Another Country* stages its scenes with the hard focus of a newsreel camera. The dialogue is tape-recorder transcription uncensored. The form is not new: Conrad, Ford, and Styron are the models. A trick from each (multiple points of view, nonsequential episodes, ratchet return to a prime incident) does not substitute for invention; the novel's value lies rather in its authenticity of subject matter. No guessing could have faked the miseries here recorded, and ultimately one reads a novel to discover what other people are up to. Mr. Baldwin is aware of this and is also aware, and exploits the advantages, of his medium's superiority over any other for showing these particular agonies.

At the novel's center is a suicide. Focussed upon the suicide are certain people who knew and loved the victim. In showing us, with relentless honesty, the interrelated problems of his characters, Mr. Baldwin proceeds without theory or grudge to define a range of emotions which few writers have faced with any success. He has dared to choose such stock and fashionable troubles as the Negro in New York, the Sensitive Southern Homosexual, the Unfaithful Wife, the Unsuccessful Novelist, but he has transmuted these modernities, intelligently reviewing the obvious and the known with new eyes and clear insight. One is left with great respect for Mr. Baldwin's kindness. He neither sentimentalizes nor excuses, which is to say that he refuses to resort either to sympathy or indifference. He has settled for understanding alone, the least easy way of regarding the problems he chose to consider.

PHILIP ROTH is as involved with unsugared reality as James Baldwin. His world, however, is utterly different. *Letting Go* finds its victim in an unnerved university instructor who destroys his wife's fertility with an abortion. His wife is Catholic, he, Jewish. They adopt a child and start over. This simple plot requires 700 pages, and is still crisply and economically told, for the novel projects with fidelity an entire world. Or rather, two worlds. One is the pitiful perimeter of the American university, the slum of graduate students, their knuckle-gnawing wives, and a weather of anxiety, drudgery, and demoralized intellects. The other is the living-room world to be seen from inside the TV set looking out.

Consciously taking a theme from Henry James, Mr. Roth has created a tragedy of brave decisions in which he shows, as patiently as Mr. Baldwin, the inescapable engagement of person with person, the weight of responsibility involved, and the courage to bear it.

HERBERT GOLD'S *The Age of Happy Problems*, nineteen essays on "American Events and American Places," is a novelist's notebook which traverses many of the subjects and a great deal of the terrain of Baldwin's and Roth's novels. He is interested in the last decade and he knows it well. He considers the Hipster, the Beat, the ordinary citizen, divorce, the Village, popular novels, and a fair catch of other contemporary matters. His eye is sharp, his style clear, and his intelligence unboggled.

What these three observers agree on is that domestic life in the Cold War has lost its nerve. The heart loves on, but with a brutality that looks more like a warning symptom than the aftermath of anything. The mind, for the most part, deals with a confusion of fragments. All three writers are stunned, shocked, and their art is a recoil. They are not analysts so much as accurate observers, and their tenacity and patience demand attention.

Records

The Cult of Judy

RALPH DE TOLEDANO

THERE ARE some performers who have it, really have it. By some sort of empathy, they reach out over the footlights and merge with the audience. They may be hard and disciplined in their effulgence (Alla Nazimova in her raddled sixties could make Ibsen come alive—and the audience saw her as young and vibrant) or quietly aware of their excellence (Pablo Casals at the cello transcended the moment of music, and will as long as he can put bow to strings). Or, again, they may be outgoing emotion, yet one with their art. Then they become cults, with a devoted and worshiping public.

Whatever this quality of communication is, it makes a magic which is a great gift for those of us who cannot do, but must watch. The performer who has it ceases to be himself. He is possessed of his audience, even as his audience is possessed of him. This is what makes a cult. And this is what Judy Garland has, what lifted her from the young girl who so appealingly sang "Over the Rainbow" in the *Wizard of Oz* to the joyous, tragic, tears-to-the-eye-bringing singer of America's living popular ballads. It is unnecessary nowadays to say, "Judy Garland." The "Judy" is sufficient, as storming, cheering, shaken and deeply moved Americans who have heard her in concert can attest. Judy is a cult. Even before she opens her mouth to sing, she has made her point.

The record companies have recognized this and now fill the shops with encyclopedic collections of her recordings. Columbia has put her in its Hall of Fame series. Decca has preserved on vinylite her pacing of those evocative songs from Gershwin's *Girl Crazy*. The catalogue is long. But compelling as all of this may be, it does not match Capitol's two-record album of her triumphant Carnegie Hall concert—"live and complete," the sleeve says—a concert repeated in sixteen cities, which left the usually glib critics groping for adjectives and feeling the inadequacy of their clichés of praise. Had those fortunate enough to be in that staid and wonderful hall had their way, Judy would be singing encores to this day.

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The twenty-six songs that made up program and encores had been polished to smoothness by hundreds of fine popular singers. The body in which the music was created could not match those of the slick and tightly-gowned singers of songs who inhabit the night clubs and the TV screen. The face would not have won any beauty contests. Judy put on weight during the period of her nervous breakdowns and the chaos of her personal life. What is left of the figure, she encased in a formless silk coolie jacket. But this served to emphasize the wonderful quality of her face—the very short, reddish hair, the widely-set warm eyes, and the expressive mouth that quivers from comedy to tragedy.

This is lost in the recording. But the fact that the appeal is purely aural adds a new dimension by shutting out the distractions of the physical personality. The listening ear and mind become aware that Judy holds back nothing. She gives every song—whether it be "Stormy Weather," "For Me and My Gal," or the Al Jolson favorites—everything, and takes everything from it. It is then that the heart discovers the secret of Judy Garland's singing. She has found the eternal verities buried in sweet or maudlin, rowdy or vulgar, melodies that the philosophers of Tin Pan Alley have given her. The full-throated open voice, in overstating its penance, has in fact paradoxically reduced it to an essence.

Among the popular singers of today, there are those who phrase more perfectly and instinctively than Judy: Peggy Lee, who brings mastery and subtlety and impeccable taste to everything she studies; Ella Fitzgerald, with that tremendous Negro ease and instinct, who knows always how to lag behind the beat and then anticipate it; Peggy King, who made a career imitating Judy, found her own significant style, and then threw it all away; Marlene Dietrich, who made a virtue of her vocal inadequacies by adding a sardonic dimension to the songs she made hers. There are singers who can make each popular song an exercise in controlled sensibility.

But there is none like Judy to cut to the quick of our emotions, to become the symbol and the song itself, to make the "bravos" of a shaken audience real and meaningful. This is what gives the cult of Judy its validity. This is what makes Capitol's recording of the Carnegie Hall concert a candidate for the archives of popular song. Each of us weeps for the loves he has lost and the loves he will never have. Each of us rejoices in the loves he has held. And Judy makes it all come back, real and significant. The tear and the laugh, the ebullience and the sadness—these are her contribution to an audience which forgets the limitations and, as it hears or sees, thinks it has burst through to the *dinglichkeit* of the sacred and profane in Judy's singing. That "Over the Rainbow" should be her theme song has its poetic justification. That's where she carries us.

BOOKS IN BRIEF

Freedom and Foreign Policy, by Senator Thomas J. Dodd (The Bookmailer, $4). Senator Dodd has brought forth a book which should be read by every American in this year of crisis, even if he reads nothing else. A compilation of the Senator's foreign policy speeches during the past three years, this volume is a wide-ranging examination of the crisis imposed upon the West by the threat of Communism. It is marked by an unfaltering perception of what Communism really is—a force dedicated at all times and in all places to our destruction, a force with which there can be no compromise—and by a clear vision of Soviet grand strategy. And, above all, it is marked by painstaking fidelity to fact. Dodd is at his best when, having established the strategic framework of his inquiry, he carefully piles detail upon detail, to demonstrate what is happening in the Congo, or Laos, or Berlin, showing precisely where Western policy has failed to come to grips with events, precisely what ought to be done to put things aright. Striking examples are the chapters on Indonesia and New Guinea, British Guiana, the Congo—and a masterpiece of analysis on nuclear testing. The result is the more impressive when we reflect that a number of Dodd's truly excellent speeches, including the earlier addresses on the Congo and a recent

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survey of the crisis in Laos, have not been included. Dodd is, of course, a philosophical Liberal, and some of his sentiments and a few of his asides will not be in total harmony with conservative opinion. Yet this gives all the more significance to his patient accumulation of fact and his unflagging devotion to the anti-Communist cause. Would that many conservatives tackled the problem of Communism with Senator Dodd's own brand of knowledgeable persistence. M. S. EVANS

THE MODERN AGE, edited by Boris Ford (Pelican Books $1.45). Most surveys of modern literature are grey and inclusive; but this final volume of the Pelican Guide to English Literature is a spirited, partisan endeavor, undertaken by the learned acolytes of F. R. Leavis. The thing is done in the Master's own manner, at once blithe and beleaguered. Eliot? Oh, yes. A contemporary of Lawrence and Forster. Nothing infuriates Leavis more (except, of course, C. P. Snow) than the Sidney-Shelley view of the Poet as High Priest. The High Priest, he would have us know, is the Critic. G. WILLS

MR. CONSERVATIVE: BARRY GOLDWATER, by Jack Bell (Doubleday, $4.50). With neither the splayed vituperation of Gore Vidal nor the obvious affection of Stephen Shadegg, AP Washington Bureau-Chief Jack Bell goes about his job carefully and comes up with the remarkable conclusion that Barry Goldwater really isn't so nasty as the Liberals would have us believe. In fast-moving news style, and often in Goldwater's own words, Bell reveals why the Arizona Senator is like TR and why he believes in flying saucers, how he compares with Nixon and Rockefeller on specific issues, and what he thinks of everything from McCarthy and Kennedy to Newburgh and the Nike-Zeus. Bell draws a vivid picture of the 1960 Republican convention, complete with backstage backbiting, and ponders Republican possibilities for the White House in 1964. He concludes that, all things considered, Barry Goldwater is to be reckoned with: the reasons are there.

R. D. MACKENZIE

To the Editor

Meyer on the West

I read with great interest Frank S. Meyer's characteristically lucid restatement, in the July 31 number, of the brief for a forward Western strategy, a strategy that must be rooted in the manifest truth that the West is engaged in an unremitting struggle for survival with the forces of international Communism.

But I am nevertheless somewhat disturbed by the overtones of a go-it-alone approach to that struggle for the world which appears implicit in Mr. Meyer's statement. It is beyond argument that Rockefeller's "futuristic federalism" and Senator Fulbright's anachronistic attempt to revive Metternich's Concert of Europe in a new age of the balance of power amount to little more than rationalizations for an abdication by the U.S. of its political and moral responsibilities.

But while remaining aware that it is primarily from the U.S. that the will and power to defend the ideals of Western civilization must come, we cannot forget that it is precisely the ordered liberty of *Western* civilization on behalf of which we wage the protracted conflict. To that defense the resources of a Europe rededicated to the ideals to which it gave birth remain vital; and it is to such a rededication that our own European policy must be directed.

Baltimore JAMES E. DORNAN, JR.

Joe Shell Game

I noted a letter to the editor in the July 31 *NR* correcting a previous *NR* issue concerning Democratic write-in votes in the California primary. It seems *NR* had it that Joseph Shell, conservative Republican foe of Richard Nixon at the time, polled 50,000 Democratic write-ins in Los Angeles, but that the correct figure stood at only 11,461. All and well, but notice that Shell drew 66,712 Democratic write-ins *statewide*, which amounted to almost 60 per cent of the total California gubernatorial write-in vote in both parties. NOTE: These figures are the official figures from the office of the Secretary of State of California.

North Hollywood, Cal. JOHN W. DU VALL

Enclosed is the July 31, 1962 column of Harry Farrell, political writer for the *San Jose Mercury*. Mr. Farrell, as you will observe, reported 35,883 write-ins for Nixon and 66,612 write-ins for Shell. This adds up to 102,495 and is a little bit off Mr. Van den Akker's report of 18,676. Furthermore, Mr. Farrell's report comes from Secretary of State Frank Jordan, a Democrat. It would appear that Kryne Van den Akker owes NATIONAL REVIEW an apology.

Santa Clara, Cal. STEPHEN B. MEISENBACH

According to semi-official returns released July 6, Shell received 43,645 Democrat write-ins, and Nixon (who had made no effort to get them) got 24,864—a total of 68,509. So your figures were much more nearly accurate than his.

Glendale, Cal. KATHERINE WRIGHT

In the final vote for the entire state, Joseph Shell received approximately 66,000 Democrat write-ins. . . .

Santa Monica, Cal. VIRGINIA L. SCOTT

. . . 66,712 wrote Shell in . . . 35,883 wrote Nixon in. . . .

Carmel, Cal. MRS. K. M. KARYE

In his letter to the editor, Mr. Van den Akker states, "an opinion (which is horribly distorted)." Question: how do you distort an opinion?

Lafayette, La. DEAN F. KEELEY

Some do it by arithmetic. —ED.

Supreme Court v. Prayer

First, I wish to differ from your contention that the prayer is nonsectarian and inoffensive. It, by its very nature as a prayer, implies a belief in a transcendent Deity, personal to the extent of listening to human prayers, and perhaps also in free will and its attendant doctrine of a supernatural soul. It may be that these beliefs are held by most of the people of the United States, but I have received the impression that some, though perhaps few, disagree. Thus, the composition of a prayer by government employees on government time, and the organization of its recital by public school teachers as

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part of their official duties, are an establishment of one religion over another. Perhaps, indeed, it is a very small one, but the principle is there.

Second, I do not feel that the Court's decision establishes secularism. As far as I can tell, there is nothing in it to prevent an individual from saying prayers without government interference. It could even be held that the decision protects religion from the "words without thoughts" that a prayer of the New York type might encourage.

Washington, Conn. JOHN R. HALL

A religion non-established is not an established non-religion. The latter would prevent the Episcopalian or Catholic from worshiping in St. Paul's or St. Patrick's; the former merely prevents the Christian from forcing his worship on all via the state.

Your argument from the attitude of the thirteen States in 1787 is a genetic fallacy in reverse: those States may not have deemed a state-written, state-endorsed prayer as prelude to the establishment of a national church, but the 1962 Court sees it as the first (however scarcely discernible) step in a possible progressive series of state usurpation of the individual conscience, and it is not for this Court to remain lashed in impotence by the habits and manners of another age, another clime.

Whatever dependence upon God is sensed by the honest and ingenuous Christian, it wants no verbalized unisoned state-endorsed teacher-led reinforcement in the classroom.

And if, finally, the state needs buttressing from the City of God, let it seek out for its leaders men who are truly of that City, rather than request of its citizens that they chant in bored monotone such simplistic, conceited generalizations as have found their way onto our coins.

Los Angeles WM. PENN FOOTE

Bless you, my children. Yours is the best treatment of the recent Supreme Court decision I have read—and I've read a lot. And the only one which puts the emphasis squarely where it belongs—on the attrition of constitutionally guaranteed liberties. What is this "Committee for Religious Liberty" you mention, where do I find it, how can I support it?

Delmar, N.Y. RUTH M. GORDON

It's forming. Watch NR *for info.*—ED.

Our Father John F. Kennedy, who art in Washington, hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come, thy will be done in the affairs of all private citizens; just as it has been done even in the steel industry. Give us this day our daily welfare allotment; and let our Congressmen forget our national debt, just as we would like to forget it. And lead us not to victory, but deliver us from the harsh realities of the Cold War. For thine is the kingdom and the power and the dishonor, for ever and ever. Amen.

Lynwood, Cal. JAMES H. FORD

Is it true that the members of the Supreme Court took invalid oaths when they placed one hand on the Bible, pointed the other in the general direction of where God used to be, and swore to uphold the Constitution, when the Constitution plainly says that everything they said and did was unconstitutional?

Logan, W. Va. FRED HAISLIP

ADL v. Fred Schwarz

Please accept my congratulations and personal thanks for the courageous stand you have taken with regard to the Christian Anti-Communism Crusade in New York City. Your article, "The Impending Smear of Dr. Fred Schwarz," did much to bring the opposition into the open. With the power of the press vested in men of your character, the cause of freedom and independence will be greatly advanced.

Philadelphia ROBERT G. CUTAIAR

I should have written sooner to congratulate all of you who are responsible for publishing that courageous article "'He Shall Not Be Heard': The Anti-Defamation League."

Having had firsthand experience with that vile and defamatory outfit, as a publisher, on three occasions, I know that it takes courage to oppose them. You have rendered a service to freedom and merit the thanks of the 20-per-cent segment of Americans who are more or less aware of what is happening to us all.

Evanston, Ill. J. V. LACROIX

George Sokolsky himself showed apparent ignorance of the nature of

DEAR JOHNS

BUMPER STICKERS FOR CONSERVATIVES

Here are some Gentle Suggestions from a few Older and Wiser Heads to That Man playing White House on the Potomac. Unwitting Victims of the Establishment may not read this Publication but they Do circulate on the Highways. So Declare your Dissent, Proclaim your Conservatism, and mainly, Exhibit these Little Dandies where they will do the Most Good.

8 DEAR JOHN: "LIBERTY exists in proportion to wholesome RESTRAINT" Daniel Webster

9 DEAR JOHN: "So Quick, BRIGHT THINGS COME TO CONFUSION" Wm. Shakespeare

10 DEAR JOHN: "THE REMEDY IS WORSE THAN THE DISEASE" Francis Bacon

11 DEAR JOHN: "WHERE LAW ENDS, TYRANNY BEGINS" William Pitt

12 DEAR JOHN: "THE PEOPLE NEVER GIVE UP THEIR LIBERTIES BUT UNDER SOME DELUSION" Edmund Burke

13 DEAR JOHN: "NEVER START VAST PROGRAMS WITH HALF-VAST IDEAS" Kenneth Byers

14 DEAR JOHN: "HE THAT LIES WITH THE DOGS RISETH WITH FLEAS" George Herbert

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Communism by referring to Communism only as being an "American problem." Fortunately during World War II "alien" Americans stationed in Australia because of the "Australian problem" of the Japanese were not so rudely taunted because of their failure to apply for Australian citizenship.

Dunedin, Fla. STEPHEN BARILOVITS, JR.

Wills on Ruskin

The review by Garry Wills of *The Darkening Glass: A Portrait of Ruskin's Genius,* printed in the issue of July 17th, was an exemplary piece of book reviewing in every way. Just that. No complaints or irritations to record. Say, a note of gratitude from a reader who, while not a NATIONAL REVIEWER (pun), considers the book section your consistently very best feature. Thanks, too, to Russell Kirk for helping to bring to further light a poet curiously ignored in the anthologies—I mean Donald Davidson. Interested readers may further consult the Spring, 1962 issue of *The Sewanee Review.*

Mattapan, Mass. THOMAS P. MC DONNELL

Classicist or Mugwump?

NATIONAL REVIEW'S young classics scholar would probably do well to stick to Athenian politics, for he must have stopped somewhere slightly beyond Cloudcuckooborough and been rereading *The Birds* while grinding out that galloping "Odyssey of a Mugwump" (D. J. Stewart, July 17). The humorless allegation that Senator Edward Long will probably win the Missouri contest for a U.S. Senate seat fails to take into account his Republican opponent, Crosby Kemper, and the fact that The Leader in Washington did not carry Missouri by any smashing margin in the 1960 election.

Conservative Kemper is of interest because he is indicative of the type of candidate with which Republicans can win votes and majorities (as opposed to the "me-too" lads and Liberal sometime Republicans).

Florissant, Mo. JOHN F. LULVES, JR.

Against Atlantic Union

Much more often than we do, readers of NATIONAL REVIEW should, I believe, express their appreciation of the brilliant articles by Frank S. Meyer, which give incomparable service in helping solve the frustrations of our time.

Mr. Meyer's lucidity is so alerting, one scarcely notices the beautiful perfection of the writing. There are no devious side trips, no cute diversions, no intentional obfuscations to impress the reader with the writer's cleverness. His directness is a true joy and he takes his readers with him every step of the way. One finds complete and comforting relaxation in the company of truth unadorned. . . .

To my knowledge, Mr. Meyer makes the first important reference to the "gimmicky dream of an Atlantic Union or a 'federation of free nations' which will relieve us of the burden and the glory of manhood," as outlined in the recently published book, *The Future of Federalism,* by Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, a book which should be used as a document in the coming political campaign.

I would like to express my long overdue appreciation to Mr. Meyer for his never-failing help in solving our most crucial problems, and, without undue optimism, always leaving us with high hope and inspiration toward greater achievement in the principles and ideals he has so long enunciated for us in NATIONAL REVIEW.

Forest Hills, N.Y. M. N. BONBRAKE

The UN's Clown Prince

U Thant's assertion that the Katanga authorities are "a bunch of clowns," is worth exploring. East and West Germany were part of the same state. Should *therefore* a UN army be empowered to seize Bonn and force West Germans to pay for the upkeep of the East German "government?" Hungary and Czechoslovakia were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Should Austria *for that reason* be forced, compelled and bullied to pay for the upkeep of the Czechoslovakian and Hungarian "governments?" Humans should help humans, but no one should be forced to pay someone *merely because he has belonged* to the same state or colony (*in casu:* to the Belgian Congo). Mr. Tshombe recently paid $2 million to the Congo. Has any member state of the UN paid anywhere near as large a portion of its national income to the Congo as Katanga has? Mr. Tshombe should therefore reply: If we who are right are "a bunch of clowns"—what are you who are wrong? The difference between love and rape is in the coercion. That is also the difference between voluntary and involuntary federalism (*in casu:* compulsory integration of Katanga with the Congo).

S. D. ABRAMOFF

Henegouwerlaan, Rotterdam

Algeria

Since my wife is a native of Algeria and since my parents-in-law still live in that unhappy land, I have followed with care and appreciation your splendid coverage of events. I am especially grateful for Mr. Soustelle's prophetic article [June 19]. Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn, however, in the issue of July 17, made several honest errors of "fact and opinion" which all too many good conservatives in America have made. I have relatives in the OAS and I can assure you that the OAS has never used indiscriminate terror in its fight against the FLN-Gaullist axis. It is well known that the OAS was organized and led by experienced professional soldiers with the primary mission of defending the Moslems of Algeria from the FLN terror, since the loyal Moslems of Algeria would have no place to go if the FLN gained control. The OAS simply took over the job formerly done by the tough paras, and largely under the same leadership and staff apparatus that for seven long years had protected the innocent and punished the guilty.

The OAS leaders knew that they could not last a week if the situation degenerated into a race war, for the simple reason that the Europeans would be outnumbered nine to one. Consequently, all OAS combat patrols included Moslem as well as European commandos. That these tactics were successful and humanitarian there can be no doubt since in those areas where the OAS was most active there was less anarchy, kidnappings, and murders. Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn's greatest error, however, is philosophical, not factual. He stumbled into the Liberal propaganda technique of equating the repression of terror with its initiation. As Mr. Michael Clark pointed out so well in his introduction to the second edition of *Algeria in Turmoil,* the two cannot be equated morally. The FLN are the true terrorists of Algeria since their planned excesses are used for psychological control of the population, whilst the OAS violence is directed toward the punishment and repression of terror to the best of its ability. Like Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn, General

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Salan also opposes "total war"; witnessed by the fact that, while French army commander in Algeria, he always made a distinction between the hard-core FLN terrorists and captured non-terrorist FLN soldiers.

As for Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn's dislike of *colons*, perhaps he has never really known any! The *colons* have always been close both geographically and culturally to France, and to avow that they are "not really French" because many have Spanish or Italian blood is as logical as arguing that a person of German or Scandinavian descent is not really American. I sha'n't mention the *Uncle Tom's Cabin* reference to them. . . .

Yes, it is true and I must affirm it: the West, as we know it, did die on the bloody streets and in the dark alleys of Algeria.

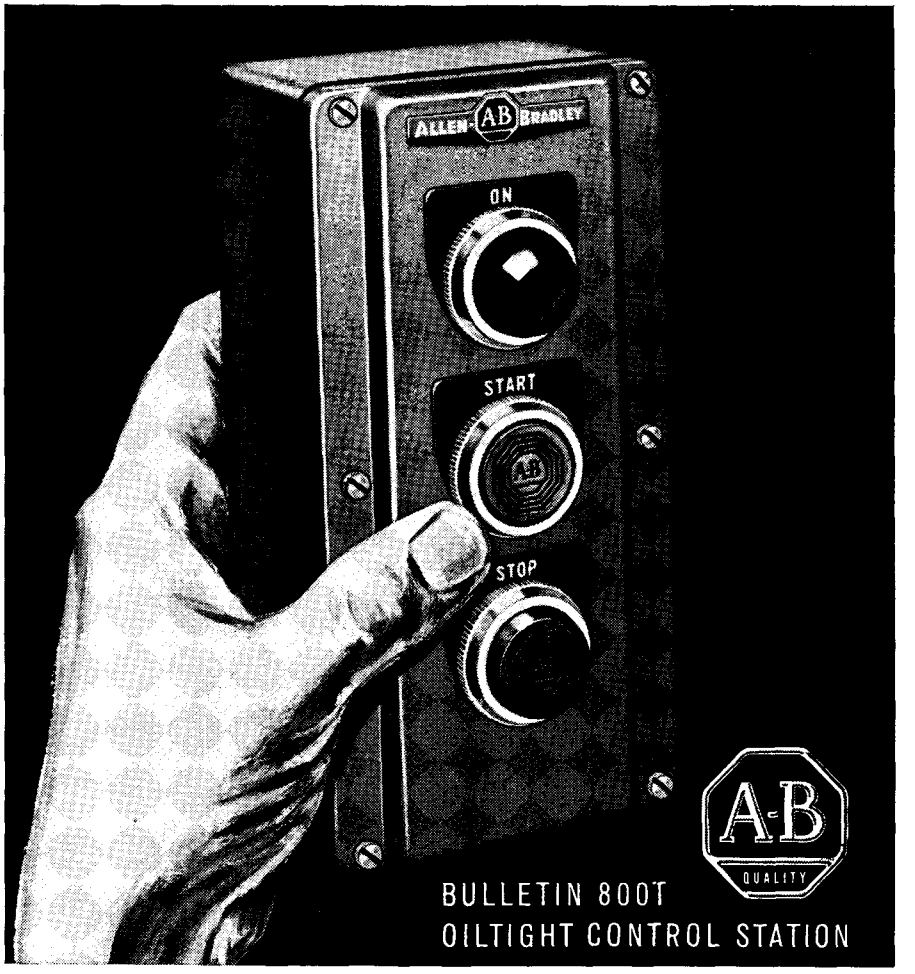
I only hope and pray that American conservatives will learn its lessons well. I humbly recommend that Mr. Kuehnelt-Leddihn read Michael Clark's *Algeria in Turmoil,* and that Messrs. Burnham, Molnar, Buckley, *et al.* read Sisley Huddleston's great apology, *France, The Tragic Years.*

For the OAS it was always a matter of too little too late—added to the crowning blunder of handing the reins of power to the hypocritical liar, de Gaulle, only a decade after his notorious and shameless career should have ended.

San Francisco NAME WITHHELD

Peru's Haya de la Torre

To the average North American, South American politics at best is a confusing welter of shifting parties and coalitions. As an aid in understanding the recent and, to us, startling developments in Peru and the travesty of our break in diplomatic relations with that friendly nation, your magazine can be of great assistance by printing more than the passing newspaper reference to the background of Victor Raul Haya de la Torre and the APRA Party. Haya de la Torre had his political beginnings with the incipient Communist Party of the 1920s in Peru. He broke with them after a honeymoon with the National Socialist Party in Germany, whose leader, Adolph Hitler, he admired extravagantly. With its roots in Marxist socialism, the young APRA Party was then modeled after the German Nazi Party, and began to use all the methods of Nazism and Stalinism. "Aprismo" declared it-



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self invulnerable. Half-Communist, half-fascist, it likened itself to the peasant who, to be on the safe side, pretended not to know which statue was St. Michael and which was the devil, and offered a candle to each.

During the thirties Aprista terrorism was in full swing. Haya boasted that he had no foolish scruples about violence and terror. "The man who did not bow down would be shot down." Several insurrections which he initiated failed. Outlawed by previous governments, he remained in hiding until the Presidency of Bustament y Rivero, whom his party had supported.

Haya de la Torre had for a few years a great deal of power which he abused, and after the defeat of an armed insurrection in Callao, his party was again outlawed and the leaders prosecuted. He took refuge in the Colombian Embassy in Lima where he remained through 1950. To bring the matter up to date, Haya and the APRA are supposed to have "reformed" during their six-year cooperation with the Prado government.

Apparently there are some people in Lima who are not convinced.

Miami, Fla. H. LOEB

Canada and Social Credit

I don't pretend to know if Donald Coxe's skills are, as you say, *sui generis*, but I do know that some of the statements in his article "Canada: Big Day for Social Credit" [July 17] are in error. I challenge him to quote from any of Major Douglas' writings anything to prove his contention that Douglas ever expressed any—"(spurious) notion of community rights to individual property." Had Mr. Coxe read Douglas as carefully as he has apparently read Marx, he would not have fallen into this trap. If Mr. Coxe is a good lawyer, I suggest he stick to his profession. If his knowledge of Canadian politics is as sketchy as his knowledge of Social Credit principles, I hope the Bureau of Immigration decides that his skills are not *sui generis*.

Cincinnati, Ohio W. W. TAYLOR

Clarification

What in the world is "entrepreneurial ebullience?"

Austin, Texas MARJORIE KADERLI

Ardor negotiorum curatoris, natch.

—ED.

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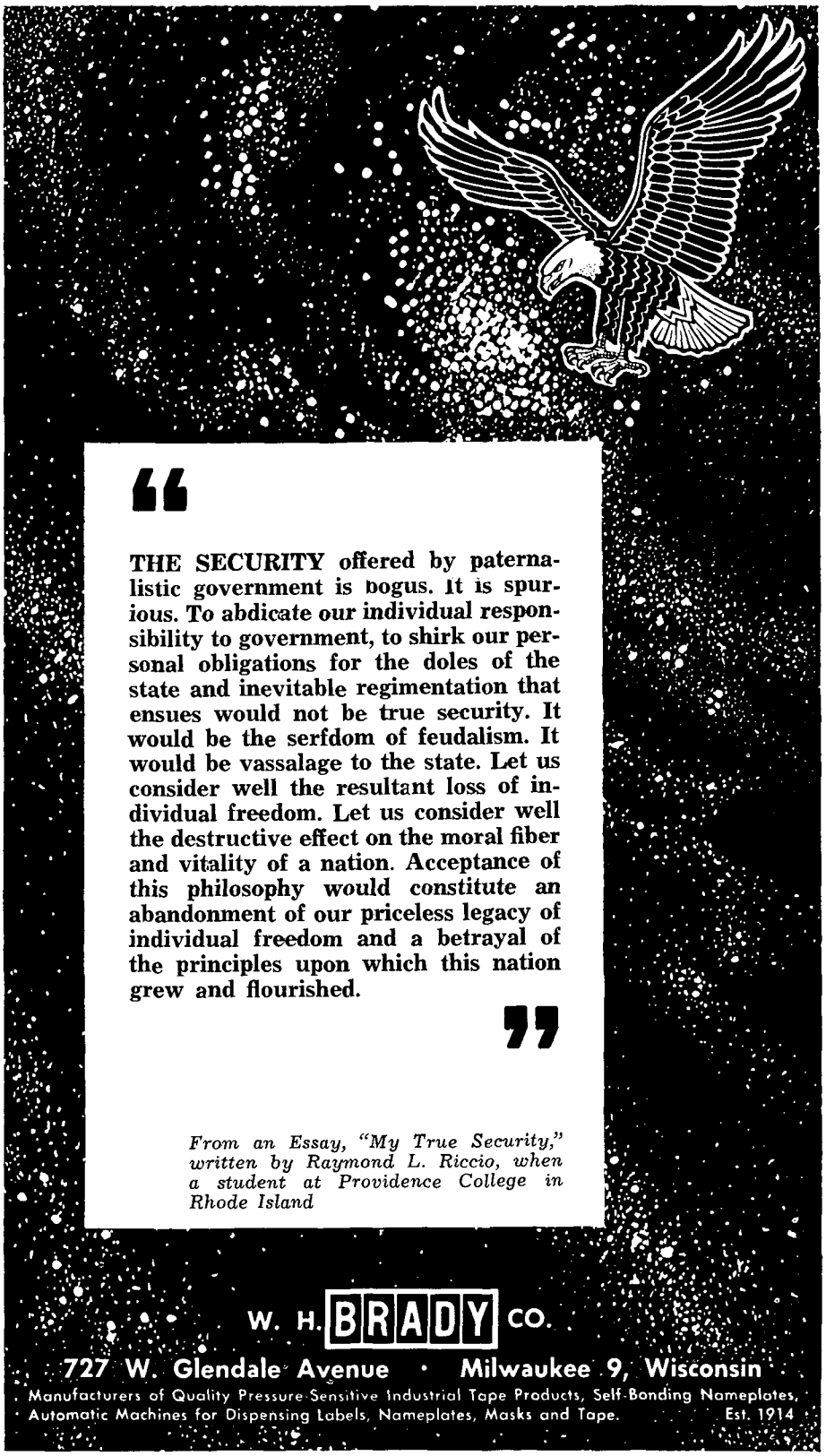
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RELIGION

(Continued from p. 145)

lutizing state. Against such totalitarianism, we have our tradition of the constitutional limited-power state which *does* recognize a majesty beyond itself (the "higher law") in everything it says and does. "Before any man can be considered a member of civil society," James Madison once declared, "he must be considered a subject of the Governor of the universe." The symbols of God and religion in our public life are a constant reminder of this truth, and a more or less powerful ideological counterforce to the pressures for totalitarian self-absolutization. The child who repeats Lincoln's phrase, "this nation under God," has at least the chance of being reminded that the nation is not the ultimate reality or value in the universe, but that it too stands under the judgment of God. Drain public life of all such religious symbols, and the vacuum will inevitably be filled by an unchallenged cult of self-divinized state and culture. Such a trend is already making its way in America; but so long as there are religious symbols in public life to remind us that we are (to repeat Justice Douglas' words) indeed "a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being," this trend meets with checks and must make its retreats and compromises at every point. Remove these symbols, and American life will be deprived of this countervailing force, and will be wide open to the secularistic self-absolutization that leads to totalitarianism. This I do not think the American people are likely to permit.

The theologian, and the man of faith generally, are right in the uneasiness they feel at the ever-present tendency for religious symbols to be evacuated of content and profaned in use when they appear in public life (though, of course, the same perils lurk in the church and even in personal religion). And they are right in maintaining a vigilant, unflagging criticism. But they ought also to remember that the divine majesty enters life not only in personal existence but also in social, cultural, and political life as well, calling men to responsibility and setting limits to the pretensions of men and states and cultures. The traditional symbols of the divine presence in our public life ought not to be tampered with.

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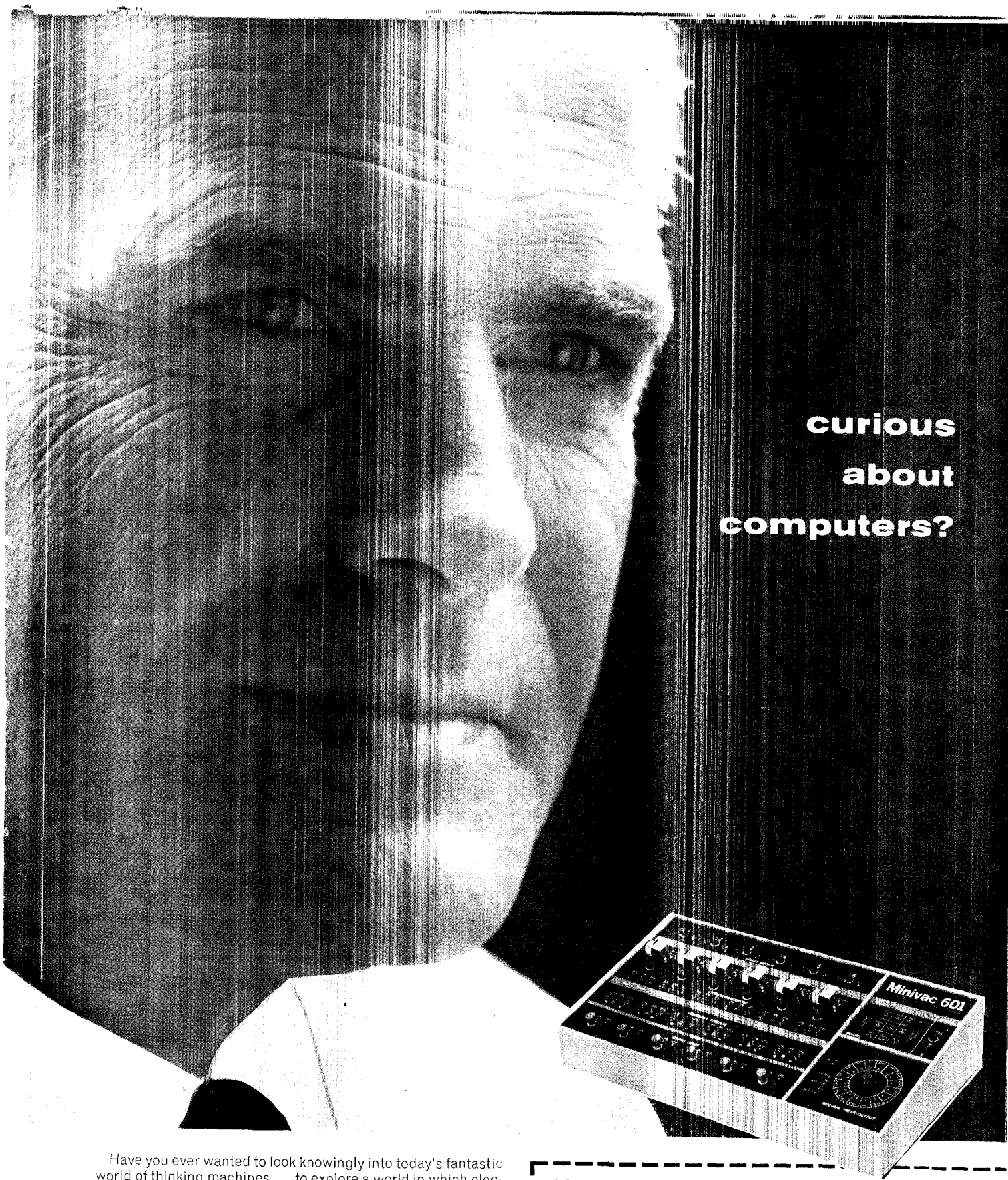

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